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JOÜRNAL

OF A

TOUR IN GREECE.

JOURNAL

OF A

TOUR IN GREECE

AND THE

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IONIAN ISLANDS,

WITH REMARKS ON THE RECENT HISTORY—PRESENT STATE—AND CLASSICAL ANTIQUITIES OF THOSE COUNTRIES.

BY

WILLIAM MURE, OF CALDWELL.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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TOUR IN GREECE.

CHAPTER XXII.

CITHÆRON—PASTORAL BRIGANDS—FIRST IMPRESSIONS OF ATTICA.

οὐκοῦν ἐπιβαίνωμεν ἤδη τῆς Ἀττικῆς· καί μοι ἕπου, ἐχόμενος τῆς χλαμύδος, ἄχρις ἂν πρὸς τὴν ἐσχατιὰν ἀφίκωμαι.

LUCIAN. *Timon.*

"Let us then now cross over into Attica; and if thou wilt be my fellow traveller, I will accompany thee to the very extremity of the land."

THE road across Cithæron, from Platæa to Eleusis, after leaving the ruins of the former city, coasts along the declivities of the mountain to the eastward, and then winds up through the passes to the right. Our track over the higher regions was in many places covered with snow to a considerable depth; it seemed, however, to be fresh-fallen during the late storms, was fast melting off, and there was none visible even on the summit of the mountain facing the Saronic gulf a fortnight afterwards. The descent on the other side terminates in a narrow defile, formerly guarded by the frontier fortress of Eleutheræ—or Œnoe—as variously conjectured by Attic topographers. Its ruins form a conspicuous object on the summit of a height to the left of the road. They now bear the name of Gyphtócastro, or Gipsy castle; a title

not uncommon for buildings of this class among the modern Greeks. The walls and towers, of Hellenic masonry, still remain in a high state of preservation, but offer nothing of peculiar interest in an architectural point of view.

Just below this ruin, where the pass it guards opens into a barren rocky plain, is a khan, with a station of gendarmes, where we halted to refresh at midday. A fire was burning in the centre of the floor—around which were sitting several of the soldiers; and, stretched at full length on one side, was a man muffled up in his cloak, whom I at first supposed to be merely a traveller resting from his fatigues. Observing him, however, to groan and sigh, and to turn himself with difficulty in attempting to change his position, I asked if he was ill, and was informed that he had just been attacked by robbers at a few miles' distance, on the road from Athens, plundered of what money he had about him, and so severely beaten that he had hardly strength to crawl up to the khan. It appeared that the poor fellow was a native of Thessaly, who had travelled to Athens in quest of service, where he had been so successful as to scrape together about thirty dollars, with which he was returning to his native country. The thieves, four or five in number, were described to be, as in the previous case of Tálanta, not regular brigands, but parties of shepherds or other rustics, who combined for an occasional exploit of the kind, on the roads in their immediate neighbourhood. They were unarmed, that is to say, carried no weapons but clubs, and the knives they habitually wear in their girdles, but which they do not generally use unless in cases of the last necessity. Hence, the Thessalian being a stout fellow, loth to part with his hard-earned treasure, and undaunted by the number of his assailants, had made a vigorous resistance; which was the cause of

nis being so severely handled. This was Nicóla's report of the case, who acted as my interpreter on the occasion; and who, somewhat disconcerted at the evidence which now began to thicken around us, of the inaccuracy of his previous reports of the security of the roads, or at least of the failure of his own boasted powers of ascertaining their state in each district, was loud in his imprecations against "these rascally shepherds," (questi birbanti di pastori) as he called them, and whom he described as a new class of Klephts that had sprung up since the period of his last tour. The whole evil he attributed to a law of the new Bavarian code, which he denounced as—questa maledetta legge dei testimonj, "this cursed law of witnesses." The law in question was simply that in usage among all civilized nations, that persons arrested on suspicion of crime should not be punished without competent evidence of their guilt. What may have been the practice under the old system, I could not exactly ascertain. A story is told of Pope Sixtus V., that he was in the habit of publicly executing a murderer in the city of Rome on a certain day of the year, in order that the periodical return of the fatal solemnity might act as a more impressive warning against the crime of which it was the consequence. Upon one occasion, however, his minister of police informed him that there was no criminal. The Pope directed him to send out his officers at the Porta del Popolo, lay hold of the first roguish-looking fellow they met, and bring him to the scaffold. The order was obeyed—and no sooner was the victim seized and informed of the object of his capture, than he exclaimed: "Alas, am I discovered at length!" and immediately fell down on his knees and begged for mercy, making a full confession of all the particulars of a homicide of which he had been guilty some years before. It may be, that had the Greek code of former years pro-

ceeded upon this plan, it would not often have been taxable with injustice.

There was, however, no doubt, some plausibility in Nicóla's objections to the present system, which the guards and other travellers present heartily concurred with him in denouncing as both absurd and pernicious. The ancient Turco-Greek law of property, which seems to have established little more than what is praised in our own popular tradition, as,

> . . "The good old rule, the simple plan,
> That they should take who have the power,
> And they should keep who can,"

was perhaps as well adapted to the circumstances and habits of the country as the more refined European practice. Travellers went well armed; prepared, where not too greatly outnumbered, to fight their own battle. If afraid of assault on their proposed line of march, they took a circuitous route, or put off their journey till a quieter period, or until they could muster a strong caravan or a good escort. The Klephts, under these circumstances, were by necessity declared brigands and outlaws, and were organized in bands which could only be dispersed or annihilated by the systematic employment of military force. To put an end to this evil, a law has been passed, and as far as possible enforced, rendering it illegal to carry arms without a license—a privilege which, of course, should only be obtained by honest men; and as in Greece it is exceedingly difficult to distinguish between an honest man and a thief, the number of persons so qualified is but small. As, on the other hand, the predatory habits of the peasantry have been rather increased than diminished by the late political changes, they have been naturally led to turn the present state of things to account; and two or three country fellows, provided with knives and bludgeons, and possibly with a pistol concealed in the

folds of their drapery, will attack and plunder small parties of travellers in an unfrequented pass, with little risk either of resistance or detection. Their booty, according to the usual mode of disposing of valuables in this country, is forthwith buried, or stuffed into the crevice of a rock. Assuming a criminal to be arrested and brought before the judge—as the native peasantry are all dressed very much alike—as the faces of the depredators are usually concealed or disfigured, and as the individuals concerned are, perhaps, the only indwellers in the land for several miles around, how is it possible, as Nicóla and the rest of the company round the fire triumphantly asked, that there should be a witness? That one of a party should peach seemed to be considered as out of the question; doubtless, because the state of the Greek treasury does not admit of such a reward being offered as to make it worth while. The consequence is, they further observed, that a rustic or two on such occasions are usually arrested on suspicion, and kept for a few weeks in jail, while it is vainly attempted to collect evidence of their guilt. They are then set free; and, fully impressed with the impossibility of a conviction in any future case of the same kind, return with renewed zeal and confidence to their old practices.

A party of the guards had been sent in quest of the thieves—but, to judge by the firm conviction expressed by their comrades of the impossibility of identifying the offenders, were not likely to give themselves much unnecessary trouble in tracing them. We continued our route, however, with the less apprehension, since the moment immediately subsequent to the commission of an outrage, when it is known the neighbouring police are on the alert, is always the most favourable to the safety of the succeeding passenger.

Few tracts of country could be better adapted for

the scene of lawless adventure than that through which our evening journey lay; and it seems to have been equally notorious as the haunt of banditti in ancient times.* After crossing a bare dreary valley which separates the upper and lower ridges of Cithæron, we ascend another rugged declivity. The road here winds through the mazes of a wilderness of the usual rich varieties of Greek underwood, interspersed with stunted pine forest, and extending for many miles around, so as to afford every facility for ambush, with secure retreat to the neighbouring mountain fastnesses. From this ridge we again descend into a precipitous valley, down which the track continues to wind without interruption to the Eleusinian plain. The scenery here is the most beautiful of its kind I had yet seen. Our track lay through a deep gorge or glen watered by a noisy torrent. Its sides, with the lower declivities of the lofty mountains which rise above it in every direction, have just sufficient soil spread over their rocky surface to afford root to dense masses of coppice wood, consisting in great part of wild olive, the degenerate descendants, no doubt, of rich gardens of the same tree, which had anciently formed the wealth of some Attic landholder. Further up the base of the mountain the coppice gives place to forests of clustering pines, which, distributed, sometimes in irregular masses, sometimes in dropping trees, over the sides and summits of the surrounding heights, relieved on the sky-line by a bright blue heaven, or lighted up by the rays of the setting sun, produced a most brilliant effect, and afforded an agreeable foretaste of the splendours of Attic scenery. We fell in with several other parties of travellers in the valley. The precipitous nature of the ground below, rendered it necessary for the horses to follow a zigzag path along the more open declivities, while the foot-pas-

* Lucian. *Dial. Mort.* xxvii. 2.

sengers took short cuts from point to point through the depths of the gorge. The appearance of the motley cavalcades winding their way above, with the picturesque figures of the pedestrians scrambling from rock to rock, or vanishing and reappearing amid the mazes of the wilderness below, and the wild cries and halloos with which they enlivened their course re-echoing from the surrounding cliffs, all supplied a scene of the most animated and romantic description.

CHAPTER XXIII.

NIGHT IN THE KHAN OF SAN VLASIO—GREEK DOMESTIC HABITS, ANCIENT AND MODERN.

ἔνθ' ἄλλοι πάντες λαχάνοις ἐπὶ χεῖρας ἴαλλον
ἀλλ' ἐγὼ οὐ πιθόμην, ἀλλ' ἦσθιον εἴδατα πάντα·
οἱ δὲ κυλινδόμενοι κναναχὴν ἔχον.
Matron ὁ παρῳδ. ap. Athenæum.

"Then all the rest their hands on potherbs laid,
But I their rules ascetic disobey'd,
For more substantial meal; then on the ground
They sprawl, while loud debate and merry jest resound."

It was our original intention to have reached Lipsina, the ancient Eleusis, that night; but the depth of the ground on the plains, and the snow on the mountain, had so far retarded our course, that we were obliged to halt at a khan, called San Vlasio, not far from the extremity of the valley—the poorest place of its class I had yet seen. It was, as usual, an oblong shed, but without subdivision or compartment of any kind. Three-fourths of the area were occupied by stabling; the remaining space, allotted for the accommodation of travellers, wanted the raised wooden platform which we had hitherto found in similar establishments, and offered nothing but a vacant extent of bare ground, slightly raised into a hearth in the centre, with the shelf of the khanjee in one corner, and the luggage of the travellers deposited along the walls on each side. The place was already occupied by several guests, and the number was

swelled by the arrival of fresh parties every two or three minutes. There seemed to be many travellers on the road, and this khan had been selected by the majority as their halting-place for the night; I know not by what fatality, as it was but a halfway house from the capital in this direction. The wretchedness of this night's lodging, and of several others, equally comfortless, with which I was afterwards obliged to be satisfied, was amply compensated by the opportunity they afforded of witnessing scenes of a very curious description, and of obtaining an insight into the habits of the population, of which I should have been deprived, had I adopted the plan sometimes resorted to by travellers, of pitching my tent at each resting-place; the only one by which a tolerable degree of personal comfort can be secured in a tour through these regions.

The party within the khan consisted, on our arrival, of an Albanian chasseur, of the same class and equipment as my fellow-lodgers at Livadía, an Athenian barber, and his travelling companion, a substantial-looking person, who, from his excessive loquacity, in which he was only surpassed by his comrade of the razor, I presumed to belong to the same lively race. It was afterwards increased to fourteen men, and at least an equal number of horses or mules, by the arrival of new guests in rapid succession, each of whom, after tying up his beasts, took his place in the circle by the fire in the usual squatting position. I had secured on one side space sufficient for my mattress, and as I sat contemplating with dismay the rapid accumulation of animal filth in the midst of which I was to pass the night, I saw thrust through the entry the head and neck of a camel; which, however, after gazing wistfully around, first at the stable, and then at the fire, was withdrawn by its proprietor, convinced of the insufficiency of the passage to admit the residue of

his person, which had remained outside during the reconnoitre. This apparition excited peals of laughter from the party within, who all united in good-humoured entreaties to the landlord of the khan to extend its hospitality to the poor foreigner. The thing, however, was found impracticable; and he was obliged to pass the night in the open air, meekly kneeling on all fours under an olive-tree, and munching a bundle of hay strewed on the ground before him.

These hovels have no chimneys of any kind—a rare luxury even in the better class of Greek cottages, the smoke being allowed to escape through the roof. This is very severe upon the eyes; but as the wood used is generally of a kind that emits but little smoke, and the open spaces between the tiles are not only quite sufficient to give it free issue, but even to afford a good view of the starry heaven above, one suffers less from the inconvenience than might be supposed. On the present occasion, indeed, there was some danger of a practical illustration of the old Greek proverb,—"Out of the smoke into the fire."* The night was chill, and the flames were soon increased by an accumulation of dry pine and olive branches from the neighbouring forest, to a furnace of terrific heat and power, crackling and blazing most furiously to the very roof-tree of the hovel. This at first afforded much childish diversion to the rest of the circle, but great discomfort to myself, from the excessive heat and dazzling of the flames. I was besides in momentary expectation of the khan taking fire, when it would certainly have been burned to the ground—a catastrophe which, with its consequences, would at least have supplied my journal-book with an important adventure. The khanjee, however, with several of his other

* ἐς αὐτὸ τὸ πῦρ ἐκ τοῦ καπνοῦ βιάζεσθαι.

guests, also soon became alarmed, and took effectual measures to reduce the flames.

Each man now pulled out his supper from his wallet, consisting of brown bread, garlic, leeks, preserved olives, and other dried vegetables,* with abundance of wine. Every traveller or party carries his supply of liquor, in one or more large round wooden bottles, with flat sides, in form not unlike a lady's flat-sided smelling-bottle, with a short neck or spout at one end, and four little pegs or feet at the other, to admit of its standing upright. Glasses or mugs are dispensed with. The bottle, when common to a party, is handed round, and each sucks his fill from the spout in his turn. The practice of diluting with water, so universal in antiquity that drunkard and "bibber of unmixed wine" (*ἄκρατον πίνων*) were nearly synonymous terms, is now quite obsolete. The khanjee is expected to furnish little more than shelter, fireplace, and fuel. The remainder of the entertainment for either man or horse forms part of the traveller's baggage. Mine host has, however, generally a limited stock of the customary fare for a case of emergency. The dried olives chiefly belonged to his store; and I seldom failed in obtaining plenty of fresh eggs, or even a fowl from his hen-roost. On the present occasion, as there appeared a deficiency of bread, he set about providing a supply, in a mode which realized to the letter the scripture account of Sarah's baking. He "took quickly a measure of meal, kneaded it, and made a cake on the hearth." The loaf he

* A Greek meal in Lent is well described in the following verses of ANTIPHANES, *ap. Athenæum*, L. ii. p. 60, c.

τὸ δειπνόν ἐστι μάζα κεχαρακωμένη,
ἀχύροις πρὸς εὐτέλειαν ἐξωπλισμένη,
καὶ βολβὸς εἷς τις, καὶ παροψίδες τινὲς,
σόγχος τις, ἢ μύκης τις, ἢ τοιαῦθ' ἃ δὴ
δίδωσιν αὐτοῖς ὁ τόπος ἄθλι' ἀθλίοις.

produced was in fact a large round flat cake or bannock, of about twenty inches in breadth, and three in thickness. When properly kneaded and shaped, it was laid upon the hearth, completely imbedded in a nest of fine embers deadened with ash, and was very soon ready for consumption. This was a common kind of loaf among the ancients, called Encryphias, or Pyriates,* and by other varieties of name in different provinces and dialects.

The conversation, in the mean time, became exceedingly animated, and would doubtless have been to me as interesting as to those who took part in it, could I have followed it out sufficiently, nor had I ever more reason to regret my imperfect familiarity with the modern Greek idiom. But although unable to keep pace with the voluble rapidity of the discourse, I made out from its general tenor, and the frequent recurrence of the word Klepht, with some others of similar import, that the subject of one of the liveliest discussions was the "cursed law of witnesses," in connexion with the robbery of the morning, and others recently committed in the neighbourhood under circumstances equally tending to evince the bad effects of the new statute. All agreed in reprobating so dangerous an innovation on old national custom, though not without a good deal of altercation on collateral points. Each man had his tale of predatory adventure to relate, in which, doubtless, not a few had been actors, as well as sufferers. From hence they proceeded to politics at large, and the state and prospects of the country. The principal orators were the barber and his fellow-traveller; the former, more especially, who harangued with surpassing grace and fluency, and with all that air of conceit and authority which both his profession and nation entitled him to assume. His eloquence, though addressed to his antagonist or the company at

* *Athenæus*, L. iii. c. 25, § 74, *seq.* Lucian, *Lexiph.* 3.

large, I plainly observed, from his occasional side glances in my direction, at the moment of his most pompous periods, was chiefly intended to produce an effect on myself. He was a short, slight, compactly built figure, with lively black eyes, a swarthy complexion, and somewhat oriental cast of countenance; dressed, not like his neighbours, in the white fustanella or philibeg, but in loose jacket and levant trowsers of a dingy olive colour, fastened at the knee round a stocking of the same hue; and as he sat, with his body bolt upright, his head crowned with his little conical skull-cap, and his legs tucked under him, sawing the air with his arms in energetic action, he put one very much in mind of an Indian juggler, or of one of those little squatting bronze idols, representing, I believe, the god Budha, which became common in our mythological cabinets after the last great Birmese war. The Chimariote warrior and Nicóla, who resembled each other a good deal in temper and manner, occasionally hazarded a few laconic or sarcastic remarks, indicating the mixture of amusement and of contempt excited by the garrulity of the Athenian; but scarcely any one of the party ventured formally to enter the lists with the two Attic orators. My Bœotian attendants said little or nothing; but with the characteristic phlegm of their race, turned their eyes from the one speaker to the other, as each took the lead in the argument, with looks, whether of indifference, or of admiration at their eloquence, it was not easy to distinguish; and during the heat of the discussion, their physical wants having been satisfied, they lay down and composed themselves to sleep.

As the debate began to flag, their example was followed by the rest of the company. The bed accommodation consisted partly of rush mats, of which the khan supplied a certain number, its only domestic furniture: partly of their own shaggy goat-skin capottes; while those who

affected the luxury of a pillow, used their wallets, corn sacks, or other articles of luggage best adapted to the purpose. Each man, as successively overpowered by the influence of the drowsy god, stretched himself out with his feet to the fire and his head to the wall, so that their arrangement might be compared to the spokes of a wheel, of which the hearth was the axle. The symmetry of this figure was, however, soon greatly disturbed. The space was but confined for so large a party, and when some of them, growing restless, began to turn or toss in their sleep, the spectacle that presented itself was as curious as it was degrading and offensive. Every here and there the figures were to be seen promiscuously blended, so as to render it difficult to distinguish to whom the splay feet, brawny legs and arms, and bushy heads, sprawling over each other, belonged. The snoring too was deafening, and the animal stench, independent of the fumes of onions and garlic with which the air was previously impregnated, most overpowering. I had managed to keep my bed in a corner tolerably secure from the encroachments of the crowd; and, deprived of sleep by the assaults of my cruel enemies the fleas, amused myself, as I lay contemplating the scene, with the parody which offered itself on Homer's description of the bed of Ulysses among the seals, in the island of Pharos:

κεῖθι μὲν αἰνότατον λέχος ἔπλετο, τεῖρε γὰρ αἰνῶς,
Ἑλλήνων σκορδοτρεφέων ὀλοώτατος ὀδμή.—*Odyss.* iv. 441.

"A fearful couch was there, where smells unclean
Salute the nose from garlic-fed Hellene."

Nor were we long in want of a Proteus to make up the fulness of the analogy; for in the midst of my Homeric reveries, I was startled, together with my sleeping companions, by a loud knock at the door, and on the latch being drawn up by the khanjee, in walked a Chorophylax, or gendarme, in full accoutrement, with a country

fellow behind him carrying a long gun upon his shoulder; a detachment of the party engaged in unsuccessful pursuit of the thieves. After reconnoitring with an air of official authority the groups around the fire, the gendarme enquired, in a peremptory tone, who and whence we were, and insisted on each man giving an account of himself. The Albanian, and the stout Athenian, who seemed to be considered the principal civilian present, became vouchers for the respectability of their fellow lodgers, explaining to the best of their knowledge, in answer to his queries, the character and profession of each, commencing with myself and suite; and all to his apparent satisfaction. His stern rigour of mien and language gradually thawed; and after swallowing a draught of wine from the bottle next within his reach, and exchanging a word or two with his Albanian comrade, in which he described the inefficacy of their search after the robbers, he warmed himself over the embers for a few moments, and then taking his place in the circle, with the remainder of the party, was soon fast asleep:

. . . πάντας δ' ἄρ' ἐπῴχετο, λέκτο δ' ἀριθμόν·
ἐν δ' ἡμέας πρώτους λέγε λήτεσιν, οὐδέ τι θυμῷ
ὠΐσθη δόλον εἶναι, ἔπειτα δὲ λέκτο καὶ αὐτός.—*Odyss.* iv. 452.

"The whole he counts and passes in review,
Ourselves first reckon'd to the slumbering crew;
Then all mistrust discarded from his breast,
He lays him down and slumbers with the rest."

Harassed by my feverish state of wakefulness, I walked out to regale myself with the fresh air. It was a calm clear night. The rays of a brilliant moon playing through the silvery foliage of the olive groves, over the dark clustering tops of the pines, and lighting up the mountain glades and rocks which they clothed, made one feel one's-self the more certainly in Attica, while they rendered the contrast between the splendours of nature, and the de-

graded condition of nature's lords in this fair desert; the more striking. On a piece of smooth greensward, hard by the door, under a large olive-tree, knelt the camel, in the same humble posture in which he had been left by his master five or six hours before. I made acquaintance with him by gathering and presenting him with a few fresh blades of grass, scratching his forehead, and other little marks of attention. I had serious thoughts of taking up my mattress and cloaks, and making my bed by his side. The air, however, though clear and tranquil, was damp and chill; and preferring present discomfort to the risk of catching a fever, and the consequent interruption of my journey, I returned for the few remaining hours of night to the warmth and stench of the khan.

In participating in such scenes as that here described, one was led to moralize on the vicissitudes of human affairs, by which the representatives of the most refined and polished race of the ancient world had been reduced, by many centuries of political degradation, and the adoption of the filthy habits of the successive races of barbarians by whom they had been overrun, not only to a complete ignorance of every thing that can be called domestic comfort, but to a state of squalid misery that places them nearly on a level with the brutes. A little further reflection, however, may suggest a doubt, whether it were fair to throw the whole blame of the present state of things upon either time or destiny, the Sclavonian, the Arnaut, or the Turk; and how far these very habits be not, among the middle and lower classes at least, an inheritance transmitted from the glorious days of their ancestors. I remember, indeed, to have heard a very learned friend on the other side of the channel, whose name occupies a high place in the annals of Hellenistic science, maintain, in talking over our respective travels in this country, that—in spite of the exterior dazzle

of art, science, and literature, shed over the age of Pericles—there is much reason to believe, that the domestic manners which give such offence to those used to the higher standard of modern European civilization, were nearly the same then, among the class of society where they now prevail. To this extent I am not prepared to go; although, at first sight, there may appear something in favour of his view. I was indeed forcibly struck at the moment with the resemblance between the scene in this very khan, (besides others, which I afterwards witnessed in the private dwellings of the upper class of peasantry,) and the description given by Homer, in the Odyssey, of the routine of daily life in the cottage of Eumæus. While viewing, by the dim light of the expiring embers, the architecture and furniture of the apartment, and the brawny limbs of my fellow-lodgers scattered in picturesque groups around the hearth—derogatory as it may be to the dignity of a Homeric hero—I could not help figuring to myself the evening circle in the cottage of the hospitable swineherd, comprising, besides himself and his landlords old and young, four or five of his own subalterns, as presenting about the same hour of night a very similar aspect. The dwelling of the chief of one of the most important branches of the rural economy of the wealthy king, must have been, as in fact it is said to be, one of the best habitations of its class. Yet its interior seems to have been very little better fitted up than the khan of San Vlasio. Both Ulysses and Telemachus are welcomed to the place of honour on the hearth, the same on which their victuals are afterwards prepared. They are here accommodated, squatting there can be little doubt à la Turque, with rush mats and shaggy goat-skins, which were spread on the bare ground, as we are informed, for their more honourable reception; and on which, after the repast

and the ensuing conversation give place to repose, they are stretched for the night, surrounded by the inferior members of the establishment. This, we are also told, was considered by Ulysses as most excellent entertainment. The following lines will still apply to the best accommodation a Greek peasant can offer a stranger, to whom he is especially anxious to do honour:—

"Within the hut the godlike swineherd leads
His unknown lord; a carpet thick of reeds
Upon the hearth he strews; above, the hide
Of shaggy goat his guest a seat supplied.
Pleased with his vassal's hospitable care,
The king with joy accepts the proffer'd fare."—*Odyss.* xiv. 48.

And on retiring to rest:—

"Beside the cottage fire the hero's bed,
With sheep and goat skins, warm and soft he spread;
In tranquil sleep the king forgets his woes,
And by his side four rustic swains repose."—*Odyss.* xiv. 518.

Telemachus, on his arrival, is welcomed with the same comforts, a rush mat and goat-skin, by the side of the hearth.*

The following affecting description of the careless slovenly habits into which the old King Laertes had relapsed, in the retirement of his farm, when oppressed with age and grief for the loss of his son, proves these manners to have been universal among all but the more refined and luxurious classes:—

"No downy bed supplies his resting-place,
No costly rugs his lowly pallet grace;
Abroad, in summer, careless he reclines,
On the dry leaves among the blooming vines;
But when rude winter chills the midnight air,
Within the house for shelter he'll repair;
There with his rustic hinds in poor attire,
He slumbers in the dust beside the fire."—*Odyss.* xi. 188, *seq.*

Another point of resemblance is worthy of remark.

* *Odyss.* xvi. 47.

Homer, in making his heroes rise from their beds in their own more luxurious dwellings, seldom fails to describe their toilet, enumerating every leading portion of their apparel. In the hut of Eumæus, in a similar case, we are only informed that they *put on their shoes*, an article of attire which, as appears from the same passages, it was not customary for persons of the rank of Eumæus to wear at all within doors. Thus, when Telemachus sends the swineherd to the city, it is said, that before setting out "he bound his sandals on his feet."* This was in the middle of the day; and the next morning, when the young hero rises early, to proceed himself in the same direction, we are merely told that he "drew his sandals on his feet, and took his spear in his hand."† No mention here occurs, as on most other similar occasions, of the rest of his clothes; and naturally enough, for he had slept in them, as his worthy host and his domestics were in the habit of doing all the year round. But his shoes he had pulled off, according to the same custom which now prevails, and doubtless for the same reason. The first and only change of raiment with a Greek traveller of the present day, on accommodating himself in his night's quarters, is to take off his shoes, or rather slippers, which are laid aside until required on resuming his journey. This is in some degree necessary, for the more convenient tucking up of the feet under the hams, and to prevent the upper garments, in such a posture, from being defiled more than necessary by the mud or filth contracted on the road; and the foreground of the picture, in such a circle as that above described, consists of the ponderous bare toes and heels of the squatters, projecting from their woollen socks, or rather gaiters, which are usually in rags, and even when entire, are seldom so fashioned as

* *Odyss.* xvi. 154. † *Ibid.* xvii. 2.

to cover more than one half of the foot. The practice was common, in Homer's time, to both gods and men. Minerva and Mercury, setting out on their journeys from the palace of Olympus, are both described as putting on their shoes.* For the same reason the ancients, in their more civilized ages, took off their shoes at meals, after the fashion of reclining on such occasions became prevalent.†

The dwellings of the upper class, indeed, in the heroic age, as well as their own state of domestic refinement, were on a vastly superior scale to that exemplified in the hut of Eumæus. Their palaces, though of primitive plan and structure, were commodious, or even splendid. They used both beds, chairs,‡ and tables; and attached the greatest importance to regular ablution, and other essential observances of personal cleanliness. Still, however, there are some curious points of analogy between the internal arrangement and economy of their mansions, and of the swineherd's hut, or the modern khan. The want of a proper vent for the smoke in these cottages, causes much importance to be attached to the use of dry firewood; that is, not merely well-seasoned, as we should require it, but so completely arid as to be on the point of rotting; and Nicóla used to call the khanjees severely to account when they failed in providing it. Fuel, when thus prepared, especially if from the olive or pine tree, emits in fact little or no smoke. Hence, in Homer, the marked emphasis laid on the same precaution of using *perfectly arid* fire logs.§ Although no mention occurs of

* *Odyss.* i. 96; v. 44.

† Lucian.; Herodot. 5; Terent., *Heaut.*: *Act.* i. 72.

‡ Yet in their festivals celebrated out of doors, they seem to have followed the more primitive fashion. At the banquet in honour of Neptune, Odyss. iii. 38, Nestor and his court sat upon soft rugs on the sands:—*κώεσιν ἐν μαλακοῖσιν ἐπὶ ψαμάθοις ἁλίῃσι.*

§ *ξύλα κάγκανα—αὖα πάλαι—περίκηλα—δανά.*

a chimney in the poet's description of his heroes' palace halls, we shall assume that they had one, similar probably to that described by Herodotus in the residence of the king of Macedon; a hole, namely, in the roof, above the hearth, through which the sun shone on the floor of the apartment.* The hearth, as in the modern khan, was in the centre of the floor,† so that the smoke or vapour from the fire curled round the roof before it escaped through the aperture. Hence we find the epithet smoky, or black with smoke,‡ familiarly applied to the roof and joists of the saloon, while the arms hung around the walls are described as blackened with smoke.§ Hesiod also talks of hanging up his rudder for the winter in the smoke.‖ In the Odyssey cleft wood is also used to give light—a purpose for which, when selected and prepared in the mode above described, it is not ill adapted. Three tripods, covered with chips of the driest and best-seasoned wood, were stationed in different parts of the hall, when the suitors rose to dance.¶ The wood here used was probably olive or daphne, which, with a bright flame, emits but little smoke or vapour; yet that little must have ranged freely through the apartment before it reached the vent.

The "*Works and Days*" of Hesiod also supply evidence that the state of domestic manners among the agricultural classes, in his time, offered many points of resemblance to that which now prevails in the Greek cottage. Among the detailed descriptions contained in that poem, both of the mode of living within doors and of the comforts or furniture of their dwellings, there is

* Herodot. viii. 137.
† Hom. *Hymn. Ven.* 30. Orph. *Hymn.* lxxxiv.
‡ *αἰθαλόεις*. *Il.* ii. 415. *Odyss.* xxii. 240.
§ *Odyss.* xvi. 288. ‖ *Op. et D.* 629.
¶ *Odyss.* xix. 63.

no mention of chair or table, and much that tends to show that they were little, if at all, in use. It is probable that the obscure proverb, in the last of the two following verses, descriptive of the evils of poverty during winter, alludes to the practice of sitting crosslegs on the floor:—

"Lest winter come, with hunger and distress,
When skinny hand a big swoln foot shall press;—*Op. et D.*, 495.

For a common, and as any person who makes the experiment will perceive, a natural and convenient mode of disposing of the hands in such a position, when sitting idle or reposing after fatigue, is to rest them, one or both, upon the feet.

The text of Hesiod above cited is introduced with especial reference to the Lesche, and its lazy lounging habits. This place, coupled by both Homer* and Hesiod† with the smithy, as the resort of the vagrant poor or the idle, especially in cold weather, seems to have been very similar to the common Greek khan of the present day; a cottage or shed namely, with a hearth, around which the loiterers by day, and the houseless by night, gossiped, ate, drank, and slept, in the same attitude, it may be presumed, as now.‡

But whatever may have been the case in the days of Eumæus or Hesiod, there is no reason to suppose that the better class, even of the peasantry, in later times, were strangers to the comforts or luxuries of more advanced civilization. Such manners as those above described, must have been common in remote and barbarous epochs to every people; and may have been

* Homer. *Od.* xviii. 328.

† Hesiod. *Op. et D.* 491, ἐπαλέα λέσχην. *Hesych.* in v. ἀλεεινοὺς τόπους.

‡ The term in later times was familiarly applied to various places of public resort, at Athens and elsewhere, such as with us would be called taverns or coffee-houses, (Leake, *Topogr.* p. 388;) also to the casinos or public saloons of Delphi and Sparta, &c.

retained among the inferior or servile class of Hellenic peasantry, Helots, Penestæ, &c., transmitted by them to their successors, and finally, in the progress of national debasement, spread through the whole native population in the new and inferior state of society, without the aid of exotic example, from either Sclavonian, Turk, or Arnaut. The following extract from the graphic description given by Aristophanes of the wretched lot of his countrymen, when the demon of poverty shall have established her reign over the land, which applies with such singular closeness to their present domestic habits, was, there can be little doubt, derived from those of the lower orders in his own time:—

"Of fleas, and lice, and gnats, 'twere vain
To calculate the number,
That, softly buzzing round your heads,
Awake you from your slumber,
In gentle tones like these: 'Tis true,
No morning meal doth greet you,
Yet rise you must, to lie too long
In bed will overheat you.'
Then for a cloak a tatter'd rug
Shall from the storm preserve you;
An old rush mat, with many a bug
Alive, for couch will serve you;
Another o'er your limbs to spread,
Will make your bedding tidy;
A block of stone beneath your head
For pillow she'll provide ye."—*Plutus*, 536, *seq.*

There are, it is true, some other passages of the same author, which would seem to justify us in looking for the original of a portion, at least, of this dismal picture in a still higher quarter; as, for example, where Strepsiades, son of a wealthy agriculturist, contrasts his former habits of rural simplicity with those which he had been obliged to adopt on taking to wife an Athenian fine lady:—

"Alas! how sweet my country life, when I
In wholesome filth did dwell—unwash'd—uncomb'd;

> And laid my limbs, fatigued with honest toil,
> At will where suited best.*

Even here, however, there is perhaps as much of satire as of truth.

One conclusive argument in favour of the cleanly habits of the ancients, even of the lowest class, during their best ages, is to be found in the fact, that personal ablution, the simplest but the most important element of all cleanliness, now all but unknown among the Greek lower orders, (or which at least I never saw practised by any of the company assembled on such occasions as on this evening, except by myself,) was then carried among all ranks to the highest perfection, or even to excess. The use of the daily bath in Athens, as we learn from numberless passages of the ancients—of Aristophanes more especially—was universal; and the public accommodation for the purpose more than ample for the supply of at least the whole free population, even for the indigent and destitute poor. Xenophon tells us,† that although it was customary for wealthy Athenian families to have their houses fitted up with baths for their private use; yet the poor were still better off than the rich in this respect, from the number and size of the public establishments of the same kind which the democracy

* ἐμοὶ γὰρ ἦν ἄγροικος ἥδιστος βίος,
εὐρωτιῶν, ἀκόρητος, εἰκῇ κείμενος.—*Nub.* 43.

The phrase εἰκῇ κείμενος is but a concise mode of expressing what Homer says of the bed-accommodation of Laertes in the passage above cited. That Daphnis and Chloe, in the romance of Longus, though children of the upper class of peasantry, never undress from one end of the year to the other, were perhaps scarcely a fair case to quote. Pastoral heroes and heroines have the privilege of exemption from all such unpoetical obligations, the observance of which would, indeed, in this instance, have been more than usually detrimental to the spirit of the narrative. *Lib.* ii. oc. 4, 5, 27, &c.

† *De Republ. Athen.* ii. § 9. Conf. Aristoph. *Vesp.* 141, *Equit.* 1060, *seq.*

had taken care to provide for their own comfort. This is also implied by an allusion contained in the same context above cited from the comic poet, where, among the benefits poverty is allowed to confer on her votaries, are "blisters from the hot bath;"* signifying, first, that a person in want of every thing else could at least obtain this luxury; and secondly, the little advantage resulting from it to a squalid and unwholesome habit of body. Of the inveteracy of the custom, even among the most degraded members of the community, we have a curious instance in Lucian's romance of *The Ass*, where the robbers, on arriving at their cavern, solace themselves, both chief and gang, by warm bathing.† The Spartans alone seem, like the Palikars of the present day, to have affected filth of person and contempt for ablution, as an attribute of martial genius.‡

That this usage was as old as the days of Homer among the better class, we learn from passages of his poems too numerous and familiar to render it necessary here to quote them; and in the time of Hesiod, its excess in the male sex is already stigmatized as a mark of effeminacy.§ In Athens, during her best ages, the luxury seems to have been abused to an equal extent as in the lower ages of Rome. It may, indeed, safely be assumed, in spite of the arrogant pretensions of modern civilization, that both Greeks and Romans in their best days far surpassed even those nations of modern Europe most distinguished for refinement, in this essential element of civilized life. This consideration is in itself sufficient to free them from any general charge of per-

* σὺ γὰρ ἂν πορίσαι τί δύναι' ἀγαθὸν πλὴν φυσάων ἐκ βαλανείου. Plut. v. 534.

† Lucian. *Asin.* 20, *seq.*

‡ Aristoph. *Plut.* 84, *seq. et Schol. ad loc. Aves*, 1281, *seq.*

§ *Op. et D.*, v. 753. Conf. Aristoph. *Nub.* 991, 1039.

sonal filth. Washing the human body is the foundation of all cleanliness; and a people so much alive to its advantages, could hardly be callous to the contamination of their habiliments or dwellings.

As regards the mode of taking food, the practice of the Greeks, even in their days of greatest politeness, is certainly not very congenial to our notions of delicacy. Homer's familiar common-place—

οἱ δ' ἐπ' ὀνείατ' ἐτοῖμα προκείμενα χεῖρας ἴαλλον—

"They laid their hands upon the meats prepared,"

may safely be taken by the letter; nor is there much reason to believe that either Pericles or Alcibiades were acquainted with the use of a knife and fork. The witty speech of the poet Philoxenes* to Dionysius of Syracuse, recorded by Athenæus, could hardly have found place at a table where the refinements of modern manners prevailed. Hence the indispensable ceremony of the chironiptron or hand-washing, both before and after meals, which travellers describe as still prevalent in Greece, but which I never happened to witness in any native society into which it was my lot to be thrown.

That the travelling accommodation of the ancients was but indifferent, there can be no doubt. In the large

* Supping one day with the tyrant, and observing that a very small mullet was served on his plate, while that of his host contained a much larger one, he took up his own in his hand, and held its head to his ear. When asked the reason, he replied, that being about to compose an ode to Galatea, he had been desirous to know how matters stood at the court of Nereus; that his fish had told him she had been caught so young, that she could give him no information, but that her sister on the plate of Dionysius was older, and would be better able to answer his enquiries. The tyrant laughed, and sent him his own mullet. (Athenæus, *lib.* i. p. 6, E.) The same author (*Lib.* i. p. 6, D.) mentions an epicure named Pithyllus, who always came to table with gloves on his hands, that he might be the better able to handle the meat when hot from the kitchen.

towns the practice of mutual hospitality, public or private, superseded in a great measure the establishment of inns; as it does to this day in Spain, the two Sicilies, and other less frequented parts of southern Europe. Inns, however, they had in plenty upon their roads, and of a vastly superior description, no doubt, to any now to be found;* yet those who wished to insure their comfort, were anciently, as now, in the habit of carrying their own beds and provisions. Aristophanes introduces Bacchus, in his journey to Hades,† with an equipage very similar to that now customary among the less luxurious class of tourists.‡ The better sort of inns, as we have seen, were probably very similar to the Turkish khan as represented by that of Livadia.

Such were the reflections on the past and the present with which I endeavoured to beguile the tedious hours of wakefulness, as I lay longing for the first dawn of morning to emancipate me from my comfortless quarters. As daylight broke in, the group around the fire grew restless; and the separate parties, according to their respective gifts of natural activity, or the urgency of their affairs, arose drowsily and silently, set their equipage in order, and departed, each in their appointed direction.

* Dicæarchus, *De St. Gr.* p. 11. Ed. Huds.

† *Ran. init.* conf. Æschin. Ed. Reisk. vol. iii. p. 273. Plutarch, in *Cat. Min.* c. xii.

‡ As exemplified in my own, described in chap. vii. vol. I.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE RARIAN PLAIN—BAY OF SALAMIS—BOREAS IN ATTIC FABLE—GRÆCO-BAVARIAN ROADS.

ἐς δ' ἄρα Ῥάριον ἶξε φερέσβιον οὖθαρ ἀρούρης
τὸ πρίν, ἀτὰρ τότε γ' οὔτι φερέσβιον· ἀλλὰ ἔκηλον
ἑστήκει πανάφυλλον.—*Hymn. Cer.* 450.

"The Rarian plain we cross, once fertile shore,
Now bless'd, alas! with Ceres' gifts no more."

At some little distance below the khan the valley begins to widen, and soon after we obtain a view of Salamis and the landlocked bay of Eleusis. The foreground is the celebrated Rarian plain, here barren and rocky, or covered with brushwood and low straggling pine forest, which, as we approach the sea, gives place to arable land, in a poor state of cultivation. The quality of the land where we crossed the plain seemed less rich, even by nature, than might have been expected in the environs of the favourite abode of Ceres, and on the fields where tradition places the first growth of wheat on the soil of Hellas. The prospect is bounded, to the left or north, by the ridge of Ægialeos, now called Daphne, which hides the plain of Athens; in front by Salamis, with Ægina in the extreme distance. At the southern extremity of the plain, the acropolis of Eleusis is the principal object; behind it is a conical knoll crowned by a round tower of the middle ages, and connected with a range of undulating heights of a peculiarly beautiful outline, projecting from the lower declivities of Cithæron,

and bounding the prospect in this direction. Although there is nothing very striking in the features of this landscape, the whole presents a singularly graceful, and—as forming a circle around the bay of Salamis—a no less interesting composition.

Hitherto, with the exception of the four disastrous days of Livadía, we had been, upon the whole, favoured by the weather, which from the first commencement of our journey had been for the most part not only bright and cheerful, but remarkably mild for the season even in this latitude; and such as would not have disgraced a fine summer in my own country. The alteration of temperature we now experienced, on entering the genial plains of Attica, affords a striking evidence how dangerous it is for the traveller to pronounce judgment, as he is so apt to do, from the experience of a single visit, or even a single season, on the climate of the regions he traverses. During the previous winter at Florence, while making preparation for this journey, I happened one raw wet evening to be walking home from a round of visits, with a friend who had lately returned from a tour in Greece, and, having spent the previous winter at Athens, had brought back an enthusiastic sense of the delights of its atmosphere. While crouching under our cloaks, vainly endeavouring to shield ourselves from the sleet that drizzled in our faces, he exclaimed:—"Ah, how different was it with the bright heaven and balmy air of the Attic winter nights!" This remark was fresh in my memory; and having been favoured with so fine a spring in central Italy and northern Greece during the month of February, I expected at least a warm summer in Attica towards the end of March. Great was my mortification, therefore, at being welcomed into the genial clime by the coldest weather by far which it had yet been my lot to experience, since I left Florence on the last day of Jan-

uary. The morning, like the previous night, though sharp, was clear and calm; but as the day advanced, the sky was overspread with a dim autumnal haze, and about the centre of the Eleusinian plain we were suddenly greeted from the gully between Ægialeos and Parnes by so fierce a boreas, that I was nearly blown off my horse, and for the first time at so late a period of the day while in motion and exercise, was obliged, not only to resort to a cloak, but to accumulate several upon my shoulders, and make every exertion to quicken the pace of my beast into a jog-trot; no easy task, and one which the traveller is seldom induced to undertake unless by some similar case of extreme necessity.

It may be attributed to the singular inclemency of this wind as experienced by the inhabitants of Attica, that he plays so prominent a part in their early figurative tradition. His rape of Orithya, the "mountain vegetation," and of Chloris, "the tender young grass," are plain types of the fatal influence of his blast on the arid soil of this region. Another nymph, Pitys, the "pine-tree," struggling against his embraces, is dashed to the ground and destroyed. The Athenians however, in later times, acknowledged themselves under obligations to their fabulous kinsman, calculated to make ample amends for his habitual acts of aggression, and which were rewarded by an addition to the divine honours he enjoyed among them. The destruction of a part of the Persian fleet by the north wind, off the coast of Athos, was considered by them as an answer to their supplication to him for assistance;* and a new temple was accordingly erected to him on the spot where he seized the daughter of Erechtheus. Simonides,† in his poem on the battle of Salamis, also makes mention of him, possibly in connexion with his influence on the issue of the engagement fought in

* Herodot. *Hist.* vii. 189. † *Fragm.* clxxiv. Ed. Gaisf.

this beautiful gulf, whose waters were now agitated by one of his keenest blasts as we passed along the shore.

Upon the whole, however, I have no just ground of complaint against the climate of Attica. The weather brightened into a fine clear sunset on the evening of this very day, (March 13th,) after our arrival in the city. During the whole of my sojourn in the province, there was not a drop of rain, but with the exception of this forenoon the sun shone brilliantly, in a cloudless sky, from morning till night; and although for the first eight days the air was somewhat piercing, it afterwards softened down into a fair English summer temperature.

As we approach the shore, the horse track joins a good carriage road, made within the last few years by the new government upon the remains of an old Turkish causeway, and in some places on those of the sacred Eleusinian way, of which Leake describes vestiges as formerly visible. I saw none, and they have probably disappeared in the course of the modern improvement. This line is now completed from Athens to Lipsina, and is intended, I believe, to be continued to Corinth, an undertaking which would require the resources of a Napoleon rather than those of an Otho. The other regularly made roads which existed in Greece, complete in whole or in part at this period, were one from Athens to Piræus, another between the same city and the marble quarries of Pentelicus, a third from Nauplia to Argos, and a fourth from Argos to Tripolizza. How far these undertakings be worth their expense, in the present state of the country and its finances, seems very questionable. In Turkish times such a thing as a wheel-carriage was unknown in Greece proper. At present the leading members of the court and diplomatic corps, with a few other persons among the upper class of residents in the capital, keep their equipages. There are also regular

public conveyances between Athens and the Piræus, and a partial intercourse of the same kind between Argos and Nauplia. A few carts or waggons, of German construction, are also to be met with in the city or its vicinity, chiefly or solely the property of the government; but if such a thing exist at all beyond the immediate environs of Athens, it is at least a phenomenon of the greatest rarity in the country at large. Even on the newly made roads, therefore, with these exceptions, horses, mules, or asses, still supply the only means of transport; and it is likely that the poverty, as well as the prejudice of the natives, will long prevent any other from coming into general use. Of the four works above mentioned, the first no doubt is not only useful but indispensable, and the traffic upon it as brisk and constant as may be expected between the metropolis and its port. The second was constructed for the transport of materials for the mason-work of the new palace, and serves apparently no other purpose of any importance. A certain communication by carriage also exists between Argos and Nauplia. But the two most extensive and most costly undertakings, the fourteen miles of route from Athens to Eleusis, and the thirty yet incomplete from Argos to Tripolizza, are of little more apparent use, in as far as the general commerce of the country is concerned, than the old bridle tracks which they were meant to supplant, but which the native traveller still prefers whenever they afford the shortest cut. The modern Eleusinian way, on emerging from the outskirts of the capital, leads across an uninhabited waste, through not a single village, scarcely to my recollection past a single house, to an insignificant port, and a mass of ruined hovels. It may, indeed, enable the classical tourist to visit the site of Eleusis in a caleche, instead of on horseback; and possibly the produce of the royal salt-ponds

which I observed to the left, on the marshy part of the plain near the sea, may occasionally be conveyed to Athens on a pair of wheels. But I saw neither carriage nor wheel-track on the whole line. It is true that these works must be presumed to have been undertaken for the purpose of accommodating the traffic they were to create, rather than that which already existed, and are no doubt the first steps towards the encouragement of commercial or agricultural communication on the improved European system; since no person, however well disposed to the use of a carriage, will be willing to build one, unless he has a road upon which to drive it. A chief part of the labour is also said to have been done by the German soldiers in the pay of the king, as a useful and popular mode of employing the idle time of a most unpopular class of public servants; and in so far the work may be considered worth its cost. Otherwise, in the present state of the national finances, such undertakings, unless, indeed, where they may be essential to the establishment of a military command of the country, must be considered as altogether premature. In a commercial point of view it would surely be for the present far wiser policy, instead of making expensive roads which no one uses, and which, unless maintained at a proportional cost, will speedily fall to decay, to endeavour, by diminishing the taxes, and otherwise improving the condition of the people, to raise them to a state of prosperity which may enable them to benefit the more by such as shall hereafter be rendered necessary by their real wants.

These strictures apply, perhaps still more pointedly, to the immense marble palace now constructing at Athens. For many years to come it would have been far more dignified, as well as more politic, for the newly created sovereign to have contented himself with a homely dwelling, in better keeping with the actual resources of his

kingdom, and with the wretched state of domestic accommodation among his subjects. As matters now stand, these pompous displays of European civilization, contrasting so broadly with the semi-barbarism in the midst of which they are exhibited; fair wide carriage roads, frequented by a few squalid pack-horses or mules, and gorgeous palaces surrounded by hovels and rubbish; instead of conveying an impression of the advancing civilization and prosperity of the country, tend but to display in a more glaring light its misery and barbarism.*

The apology, of encouraging art and industry, or affording employment, is scarcely valid in the case of this royal structure; since the species of labour which forms the great item of its expense, that of marble-cutting, while it is one which cannot for many a year become one of general necessity or utility, must for the present be confined chiefly to foreign mechanics. Standing one day, before dinner, with the lady of a distinguished foreign diplomatist at Athens, on the balcony of her drawing-room, I happened to notice a checquered marble pavement with which it was adorned. In her reply to my observations, she mentioned incidentally that it had been imported by her husband ready-made from Carrara. At this I expressed my astonishment, considering that the outer courts of their own dwelling were strewed with ancient fragments, of the finest produce of the native

* The reproaches placed by Aristophanes in the mouth of the sausage-vender against the demagogue Cleon, for his indifference to the comfort of the Athenians of those days, admit of a curious application to their present rulers:

καὶ πῶς σὺ φιλεῖς, ὃς τοῦτον ὁρῶν οἰκοῦντ' ἐν ταῖς πιθάκναισιν,
καὶ γυπαρίοις, καὶ πυργιδίοις, ἐτὸς ὄγδοον, οὐκ ἐλεαίρεις.
Equit. 792.

"Is this the way you show your royal pity for a nation,
Who dwell these eight long years in huts and holes amid starvation?"

quarries. She assured me, however, that before sending to Italy, they had made a calculation of the relative expense of the two modes—the result of which was, that the mere hewing of the ancient blocks to which I alluded, would have cost as much as the whole charge from Carrara, including raw material, work, and freight; that they had, however, for the interest of the thing, employed a native artist to operate upon one or two of the ancient fragments; but that the utmost his skill had been able to effect was to shiver in pieces, or otherwise mutilate them, so as to render them altogether unfit for the purpose for which they were destined. Such is the present state of this branch of elegant art among the descendants of Phidias and Ictinus.

CHAPTER XXV.

FIRST VIEW OF ATHENS—PARALLEL OF ATHENIAN PLAIN AND ROMAN CAMPAGNA—FIRST IMPRESSIONS OF THE CITY—ATHENIAN SOCIETY.

ἀλλ' ὀλολύξατε φαινομένηισιν ταῖς ἀρχαίαισιν Ἀθήναις.
ὦ ταὶ λιπαραὶ, καὶ, ἰοστέφανοι, καὶ ἀριζήλωτοι Ἀθῆναι.
ARISTOPH. *Equ.* 1327.

"Then shout for joy, old Athens now appears, renown'd in story;
O city fair! desired of all, and crown'd with wreaths of glory."

AT the point where the flat shore is bounded to the east by the ridge of Ægialeos, the road, after coasting along its base for a few hundred yards, strikes off to the left across the heights, through the pass of Daphne. At its summit is the convent of the same name, now occupied by a station of Bavarian soldiers. A little further on, Athens—its mountains—and its plain—open suddenly upon the view. Amid the most intense anxiety to obtain a first sight of this celebrated region, I had not formed any very exaggerated expectations of the impression it was to produce. I was so familiar, as I imagined, with its site and principal features, through the medium of so many published descriptions, and of still more numerous drawings and engravings, by professors and amateurs of every variety and degree of talent; and I had both heard and read so many ebullitions of the enthusiasm which every well-educated man must experience, in a greater or lesser degree, on his first personal introduction to a scene, around which are concentrated so many associations of what is beautiful and glorious in the his-

tory of our species, that the claims, either classical or picturesque, of Athens and its environs on my sympathies, had become, in some measure, a hackneyed and threadbare subject. I was consequently, as frequently happens in such cases, prepared for disappointment or indifference, on first acquaintance with the original of so many high-drawn pictures. The disappointment, however, for such it may still in so far be called, was a most agreeable one. To me Athens and the surrounding landscape presented, not only from this pass, but from every other leading point of view, features of novelty almost as fresh as if I had never seen an outline of the Acropolis. Nor have I ever known an instance in which the efforts of artists, even of the most approved skill, have so entirely failed in conveying any thing like the real effect of their subject.

The great natural amphitheatre, of which Athens is the centre, possesses, in addition to its beauty, certain features of peculiarity, which render it the more difficult to form any adequate idea of its scenery, but from personal view. The chief of these is a certain degree of regularity, or rather of symmetry, in the arrangement of the principal parts of the landscape, which enables the eye the better to apprehend its whole extent and variety at a single glance, and thus to enjoy the full effect of its collective excellence more perfectly, than where the attention is distracted by a less orderly accumulation even of beautiful objects. Its more prominent characteristics are: first, the wide extent of open plain in the centre; secondly, the three separate ranges of mountain —Hymettus, Pentelicus, and Parnes—to the eye of nearly the same height, and bounding the plain at unequal distances on three sides, to the south-east, north-east, and north-west; thirdly, the sea on the remaining side, with its islands, and the distant mainland of Peloponnesus;

fourthly, the cluster of rocky protuberances in the centre of the plain, the most striking of which either form part of the site of the city, or are grouped around it; and fifthly, the line of dark dense olive groves, winding like a large green river through the heart of the vale. Any formality, which might be expected to result from so symmetrical an arrangement of these leading elements of the composition, is further interrupted by the low graceful ridge of Turcovouni,* extending behind the city up the centre of the plain; and by a few more marked undulations of its surface about the Piræus, and the neighbouring coast. The present barren and deserted state of this fair, but not fertile, region, is perhaps rather favourable than otherwise to its full picturesque effect, as tending less to interfere with the outlines of the landscape in which its beauty so greatly consists, than a dense population and high state of culture.

The analogy between the natural features, as well as the present fate, of the Roman campagna and the Athenian plain, cannot fail to occur to every one possessed of the means of forming the comparison. I say analogy rather than resemblance, because, however striking the points of general correspondence, in many of the details there is an equally marked difference. Each, no doubt, has its peculiar excellences; but, upon the whole, the palm of beauty must be awarded to Athens. The Alban and Sabine mountains form boundaries to the vale of the Tyber, less grand, it is true, but no less graceful and ornamental, than Hymettus and Pentelicus to that of the Cephissus. The resemblance, indeed, between the outline of Pentelicus and of the Mons Lucretilis or Monte Gennaro, as seen from Athens and Rome respectively, is very remarkable, and has frequently been noticed. But the third great landward boundary of the Campagna to-

* Turk's hill.

wards Viterbo, is monotonous and tame, in comparison with the Attic Parnes and Ægialeos. The sea view of the Saronic gulf, for which the dreary line of plain towards Ostia forms so poor a substitute, were in itself sufficient to turn the scale in favour of Athens, even were all other claims equal. The Attic mountains too have this advantage, that, while so far removed as to admit of that width and extent of prospect so essential to the higher species of landscape composition, they are yet sufficiently near to produce, each in itself, its full effect of mass and loftiness, which is but partially the case with the Latin hills. On the other hand, the greater breadth and more open character of the Roman plain, with its graceful undulations, and beautiful varieties of light, shade, and colouring, with its solitary groups of ruined villas, temples, and tombs, and its aqueducts stalking in broken fragments like a routed army of giants across its level, give it perhaps, in its individual capacity, a superiority over the arid vale of Athens, which even the fine effect of the olive groves is not sufficient to counterbalance. Another advantage of the Roman landscape consists in the number and elegance of the modern buildings scattered here and there over the face of the Campagna; the castle and tower of the middle ages, the lonely convent, casale, or villa farm, sheltered by its groves of cypress or stone pine, together with the fair white towns and villages of the lower mountain declivities. These are features which, while they impart a certain air of cheerfulness and festivity to the melancholy grandeur of that beautiful desert, contrast there, as elsewhere in Italian scenery, most favourably with the unseemly groups of hovels that disfigure more frequently than they enliven the landscape of Greece. But then those bold and varied natural features of the lower and more central portion of the Attic vale, the Acropolis,

the Museum, the Lycabettus, &c., are altogether wanting in that of the Tyber, where they are still more required to relieve the greater extent and uniformity of the plain. Nor does Rome herself, either ancient or modern, add much to the general effect of her environs. Instead of boldly standing forth with her temples and palaces, as if proud of her own beauty and of the fair region she commands, she is sunk in a hollow crater, the boundaries of which, as seen even from within her own limits, are but tame objects, and altogether insignificant as general features of the distant prospect; while the city itself, for the same reason, is scarcely visible from any point without the walls, but in bird's-eye view from the summit of the surrounding heights. It is, however, but an ungrateful task to cast up an account of the respective claims on our admiration of two regions both so replete with beauty and interest; more especially where, as in my own case, the balance is likely to be unfavourable to one endeared to the fancy by so many old and delightful recollections. If the Attic plain must be allowed to combine, more perhaps than any other district in Europe, the higher excellences of classical scenery, as little can it be denied that the panorama of the Campagna from Roma Vecchia, towards sunset on a bright afternoon of autumn, is about as brilliant and inspiring a prospect as the imagination can conceive.

The full perception of scenery of this class is in itself an acquired taste—as in fact are all our finer tastes in their more advanced stages. So at least I have found in my own experience. It required, I well recollect, several months' residence in Italy and Rome, and many a ride across the Campagna, to initiate me fully into its beauties. But the mind, through this very medium, was already prepared to enter at once into the full charm of the Attic landscape. With the majority of travellers,

however, this would not appear to be the case. I remember a resident Philhellene, of both taste and genius, in the course of a walk I enjoyed with him in the environs of the city, expressing surprise that a stranger, on first arrival, should appear so much alive to the beauties of a class of scenery, the full value of which had forced itself but slowly and gradually on his own apprehension. The above remark applies perhaps more pointedly to our own countrymen, whose early ideas of perfect landscape composition are inseparably associated with verdant lawns, majestic oaks, richly wooded hills, and gothic spires. Hence it will not uncommonly happen that an honest English country gentleman, who in his own province had established a high reputation for proficiency in the art of landscape gardening, for laying off his plantations in the most graceful lines, or thinning his park timber into the most picturesque groups, on being propelled, by the national obligation to perform the grand tour, into the classic regions of the Mediterranean, finds himself quite unable to apprehend the merit of that scenery which formed the favourite study of a Poussin or a Claude, and makes little scruple in denouncing the admiration expressed for it by his more advanced fellow countrymen, as mere pedantry and affectation.

It may here indeed be urged, by the advocates for the influence of fancy and classical prejudice in such matters, that much of the admiration bestowed on scenes of this description, originates in sources altogether distinct from our abstract sense of their natural beauty—in the historical associations, namely, with which they are connected; that the desolation which is so inspiring in the campagna of Rome would be viewed with very different feelings in the neighbourhood of a city north of the Alps; and that the arid hills and dark olive woods of Athens,

might appear gloomy and cheerless on the shores of Africa or Spain.

There is much truth, no doubt, in this; yet the impressions themselves are not the less real or the less pure from being traceable in some degree to such causes. There is no part of the mechanism of the human mind more difficult to fathom, than that which regulates our perceptions of ideal beauty. It is certain, however, that two of its most powerful organs are, association and sympathy. And this law, like most of those affecting the exercise of one branch of our imaginative faculties, extends in a greater or less degree to all the others. It is in the case of poetry, perhaps, that the principle is most strikingly illustrated. As long as the poems that still bear the name of Ossian were acknowledged the genuine effusions of a Caledonian bard of the 4th century, they were classed among the highest efforts of heaven-born genius, and their author, by the award of the first European critics, was assigned a place on the pinnacle of Parnassus by the side of Homer, Dante, or Shakspeare. No sooner was it established that they were for the most part the productions of a Scottish bookmaker of the last generation, than they were contemptuously laid on the shelf, and the real beauties which cannot be denied them, ceased to command either admiration or popularity. Why is this? The poems are the same, and the taste of the age has undergone no essential alteration. The change can only be explained, and at the same time vindicated, by reference to the principle above mentioned. The whole of that sympathy which had at first been felt with both author and subject, resting on the conviction of an equal degree of sympathy between his subject and himself, was found to be delusive, and the charm was at once dissolved. This may at first sight appear an arbitrary

principle, and, like so many other questions of taste, may be an inexplicable one; but it is one inseparably interwoven with the most delicate fibres of our ideal perceptions; and by equal reference to its operation, could it be established to-morrow by some subtle train of topographical enquiry, that the ruins which we suppose to represent Athens were really those of some favoured colony of Hadrian, and that the Olympium, the Theseum, and the Parthenon, (as the learned Spon maintained of the principal sculptures of the latter,) were original works of that emperor, the result would, and ought to be, with every man of true taste, a proportional diminution of the picturesque effect as well as of the historical interest of her landscape. Could those disciples of the romantic school, who attribute that admiration for the scenery of Attica or Latium in others, which they themselves are unable to feel, to the delusions of classical enthusiasm, be convinced that Fountain Abbey or Melrose were but modern imitations of the Gothic style, erected by some virtuoso of the last century to adorn his park—would they contemplate them with the same feelings as hitherto?

The pass of Daphne is perhaps the most favourable point for a first view of the city, as presenting the leading features both of its site and environs in the most distinct and prominent groups. It possessed, to myself, the additional advantage of novelty, as I do not recollect having seen any view of Athens from this spot in the published collections. The wind had fallen, and the sky, though dull and overcast, was not altogether unfavourable, being overspread with that light blue haze which tends less to conceal than to darken the bolder features of a landscape, or, to use an expressive sea phrase, causes the cliffs or mountains to loom in broader and more prominent masses. The foreground is a deep cut

in the hill, with sloping sides, through which the road winds in its descent from the summit of the pass, forming, as it were, a frame to the picture. Below, extends the plain with the olive groves, and beyond it lies the city, bounded to the right by the acropolis, to the left by Lycabettus, which here, without forfeiting any of its boldness, assumes a greater variety of outline than as seen from any other point. Immediately to the right of the acropolis rise the heights of the Museum. The background is completely occupied by Hymettus; the flatness of its outline on this side forms the only defect of the landscape.

The new city really presents a brilliant aspect as beheld from this point, and at this distance, the more refreshing to my eye, after the dingy masses of hovels and rubbish with which it had been familiar as the representatives of Greek towns, since my departure from Ithaca—presenting a long line of glittering white edifices, and displaying much of the elegance and gayety of a fair Italian city.

On descending the hill, after a considerable stretch of open plain, we enter the olive groves, scattered over marshy fields irrigated by the Cephissus—once the classic gardens of the Academy. As he emerges from the thicket, and obtains a nearer view of the town, the traveller is mortified to find what a change has come over the fair vision which lately enlivened the prospect, and is apt to think that he has been the dupe of some *Fata Morgana*, or optical deception, on observing, as he advances, the previous broad expanse of cleanly edifices gradually vanishing from his sight, and resolving itself into the customary groups of ruins and hovels. The illusion is easily explained. At the conclusion of the war, modern Athens was one mass of rubbish, out of which her previous inhabitants, on their return to the

ATHENS FROM PASS OF DAPHNE.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

seat of their altars and hearths, threw up such structures as were immediately necessary for the actual shelter of their persons and goods. But since the selection of their native town as the metropolis of the new state, a regular plan has been formed for its reconstruction, to which all the new private edifices must conform. Any settler, however, is at liberty to fix his dwelling where he pleases, provided he adhere to the *alignement* of the street or square which he may select for its site. In this way a considerable number of good houses have sprung up, chiefly on the side of the town which fronts the Daphne road. These, at a certain distance, exclusively engage the eye, and impart to the whole city the gay appearance above described. But on penetrating into the interior, one speedily discovers that these fair palaces are but pearls in a dunghill, scattered here and there at wide intervals among cottages and ruins. Although the place already contains many tolerable, and some few really elegant buildings, not a single street can yet be said to exist, unless an uneven expanse of bare earth and rubbish, bounded on each side by sheds and cottages, with here and there a more substantial edifice, can deserve the name. Even the bazar, or principal thoroughfare, has no pavement or causeway of any kind. During my residence in the city, the weather was dry; so that, with the exception of clouds of dust on windy days, one walked with tolerable comfort from place to place. But in the rainy seasons the mud must be, and indeed, as I was informed by the residents, is a most intolerable nuisance.*

* Here again, in contemplating the splendid pile of marble now raising, for the accommodation of a prince whose whole state produces scarcely the revenue of a wealthy English nobleman, one could not help feeling the more forcibly how much more usefully, and even ornamentally, he might have employed this portion of his income, in rendering the approaches from his city to the more homely residence with

It may be questioned whether the ancient Athenians, even in their best days, had great reason to pride themselves on this department of their city police. In picking my steps through the mud, by the aid of a lantern, in the lower parts of the town, on my return one evening from a visit, my mind reverted to the scene in the *Wasps* of Aristophanes, where the midnight visitors of Philocleon are exhibited in the very same predicament;* and that also, as further appears from their own remarks, during a period of dry weather.† It would seem, indeed, from several other pointed allusions of the same dramatist, that the internal economy of the city of Pericles, if not quite in so low a state as that of its modern representative, was little superior in these respects to that of the filthiest towns of southern Europe at the present day; and that her places of public resort, the purlieus of her sacred edifices more especially, were among the chief repositories of every kind of nuisance.‡ A bold sceptic might, perhaps, even find reason to doubt whether ancient Athens was regularly paved. Strabo seems to assert the contrary, ascribing to the Romans the first introduction of this and other public conveniences of the same class; and, although his testimony may here not be admissible to its full extent, it is in itself probable, that, in an age and country where wheel carriages were so little in use, the pavement of cities may have been confined to a few of the principal thoroughfares.§

which for the present he ought to have been contented, permanently passable.

* *Vesp.* 248, *seq.* † *Ibid.* 260.

‡ Aristoph. *Plut.* 1183, *seq.* *Nubes*, 1384, *seq.* *Eccles.* 320, *seq.* *Vesp.* 394.

§ Strabo, *Lib.* v. Edit. *Falcon.* p. 336.—"The Greeks," says he, "in building their cities, attended chiefly to strength of site and fortification, convenience of ports, fertility of surrounding country, and elegance of architecture. The Romans, on the other hand, provided

Neither Athens, nor any other unfortified Greek town has, as yet, either barrier or gate, but the entrance is altogether free, as with us in England; nor is it, let us hope, in contemplation to saddle the interior traffic of the infant state with any of those semi-barbarous restrictions, which still prevail in most of the civilized countries of Europe. I felt rather ashamed of riding into an European metropolis with so uncouth an equipage, but was soon comforted on observing nobody in the principal thoroughfares much better appointed than myself. Among the first symptoms of more advanced civilization were several beggars, stationed at some of the chief points of public resort. This is a class of society to which, since my landing in Greece, I had been a stranger. Amid all the external appearances of abject poverty in the provincial towns and villages, mendicity is altogether unknown. One might be disposed to explain this phenomenon by reference to the universal indigence of the people, which would render begging from each other but an unprofitable business, while the number of passing strangers is not sufficient to have introduced it as a new profession. I have, however, been assured, that the outward appearances of pauperism among the lower orders are delusive; and that there are few Greeks who have not, either on their persons or buried under ground, a considerable amount of property

what the others neglected, paved ways, aqueducts, and common sewers." This account, in so far as unfavourable to his own countrymen, must be taken with considerable modification. It is certain that Athens, by whatever means, was well supplied with water. Otherwise the allusions of Attic writers to the number of her baths, both public and private, could not be explained; and the existence of such establishments presupposes a proportional number of conduits and public sewers. Of these, indeed, vestiges are extant at Athens as well as other Greek cities; although certainly on a scale inferior to those of Rome.

in specie or valuables. It is certain that a larger proportion of the immense treasure, plundered from the Turks on different occasions during the war, was distributed among the population at large, than found its way into the coffers of the provisional government. These *peculia* were carefully hoarded; and, as the Greeks are naturally a provident and money-making people, in most cases their store may be presumed to have since been rather increased than diminished.

After threading the greater part of the town, I dismounted about an hour after midday at Casali's Royal Hotel, a good house, fitted up in the Italian style, where I secured a handsome sitting-room, commanding a full view of the eastern extremity of the Acropolis, with a bed-room contiguous, at prices similar to those paid in the most expensive capitals of Italy. After a couple of hours spent in arranging my person and goods, and as many more in a general survey of the site and remains of the city, I found myself seated at the hospitable board of Sir Edmund Lyon, surrounded by every English comfort, and in the midst of a most amiable family circle. Sir Edmund is precisely what an Englishman, arriving in the capital of a strange land, would desire to find as the representative of his nation. To the manners of the well-bred gentleman he adds the open frankness of the British seaman, and is distinguished for politeness and friendly attention to all classes of his countrymen.

Hospitality is said to be the virtue of barbarous nations, a fact which may be accounted for by reference to two very simple causes: first, the mutual dependence of the members of such a state of society on the good offices of each other, which renders its exercise in some degree a matter of necessity; secondly, the rarity of the visits of strangers, which, by making them objects of interest and curiosity, equally ensures their entertainment, as a matter

of inclination to their host. This rule applies, perhaps, still more forcibly to colonies of civilized men settled in barbarous regions, than to the natives, at least in so far as regards their attention to travellers on the same grade of social advancement with themselves. European visitors are indeed no longer such a rarity in Athens as to admit of the full operation of either of these causes, and the establishment of several tolerable hotels places the stranger and the resident much on the same footing, with regard to each other, in respect to lodging, as in more advanced countries. Still, however, a foreigner arriving in Athens with good introductions, finds himself much more an object of attention than in any capital of western Europe. During the ten days of my residence there I never dined at my hotel, and on many of them, had I been master of sufficient time and stomach, might have eaten two or three dinners. But not to mention these more vulgar and sensual advantages derived from the letters with which I was provided, they were the means of procuring me the society, and I trust I may venture to say the friendship, of several persons as distinguished for their literary attainments as their social virtues. Since the establishment of the present government, numerous foreign men of letters have been led to settle at Athens, for the most part in an official capacity. Among these ornaments of modern Attic society, the first place in my own catalogue belongs to the Chevalier de Prokesch, the Austrian minister, whose published researches in Greece and the Levant have obtained him a high rank among German travellers and authors. I must attribute it more to his own high-bred courtesy, and to respect for the quarter from whence I was introduced to him, than perhaps to a certain congeniality of tastes and pursuits, that we were from the first on a footing of intimacy. During several days he was kind enough to act

as my cicerone, and I could not readily have found so agreeable or instructive a guide, or one more feelingly alive to the interest of those scenes which are so eloquently described in his own pages. His lady is no less distinguished than himself for graces and accomplishments of mind, and has few or no competitors in the society she adorns in those of person and manner. Their house is the best in the town, and every way worthy the residence of the ambassador of a first-rate court. It was also my good fortune to become intimate with two other distinguished Germans, Professors Brandis and Ross. The former, well known by his writings illustrative of ancient philosophy, the friend of Niebuhr, and his associate in the direction of the first series of the Rhenish Museum, was invited to Greece from the University of Bonn, where he filled a professor's chair, and at the period of my visit to the city, held the situation of Royal Librarian.* The latter now occupies the chair of ancient Greek literature in the University of Athens, and is distinguished for his researches into the topography of the city, as well as in various other departments of Hellenistic science. I found but two old friends at Athens, Sir Richard Church and his lady, neither of whom I had seen since their marriage; the latter I had known intimately as Miss Wilmot, we both felt ashamed to reckon how many years before. Sir Richard's character and services are too well known to require any comment from me. He is now one of the most popular men in Greece. If to this list be added the names of my own more immediate fellow countrymen, General Gordon, distinguished by his services in the war of independence, and still more for his able and impartial history of its vicissitudes, and Mr Finlay, author of some valuable

* This post he has since resigned, and returned to his academical life at Bonn.

tracts on Attic topography—it will easily be understood how much the society of modern Athens was calculated to enhance the enjoyment of its classical interest, and my regret for the shortness of the space I was enabled to allot to so agreeable a residence. My introduction to the natives consisted only of a few literary circulars to correspondents of the Roman Archæological Institute—and the only one of them which possessed any value, was that to Signor Pittakys, the Conservator of Antiquities, to whom I was indebted for much kind attention.

My little experience of Athens led to the impression, that, for a Frank, there can hardly be said to exist any society excepting that of the Frank residents. The Greek ladies appear but little in public; and as yet neither their habits nor their education fit them, generally speaking, for an European drawing-room. Lent was not the season for large parties or public festivities, and in the domestic circles which I frequented, the only natives I met were a few men of letters at a private literary club, and one or two Greek families of distinction at a soirée of Lady Lyon, where the native ladies, both in costume and demeanour, seemed altogether strange to the circle by which they were surrounded. An exception may, perhaps, be made in favour of those who have married Franks, several of whom appeared well-bred and agreeable women.

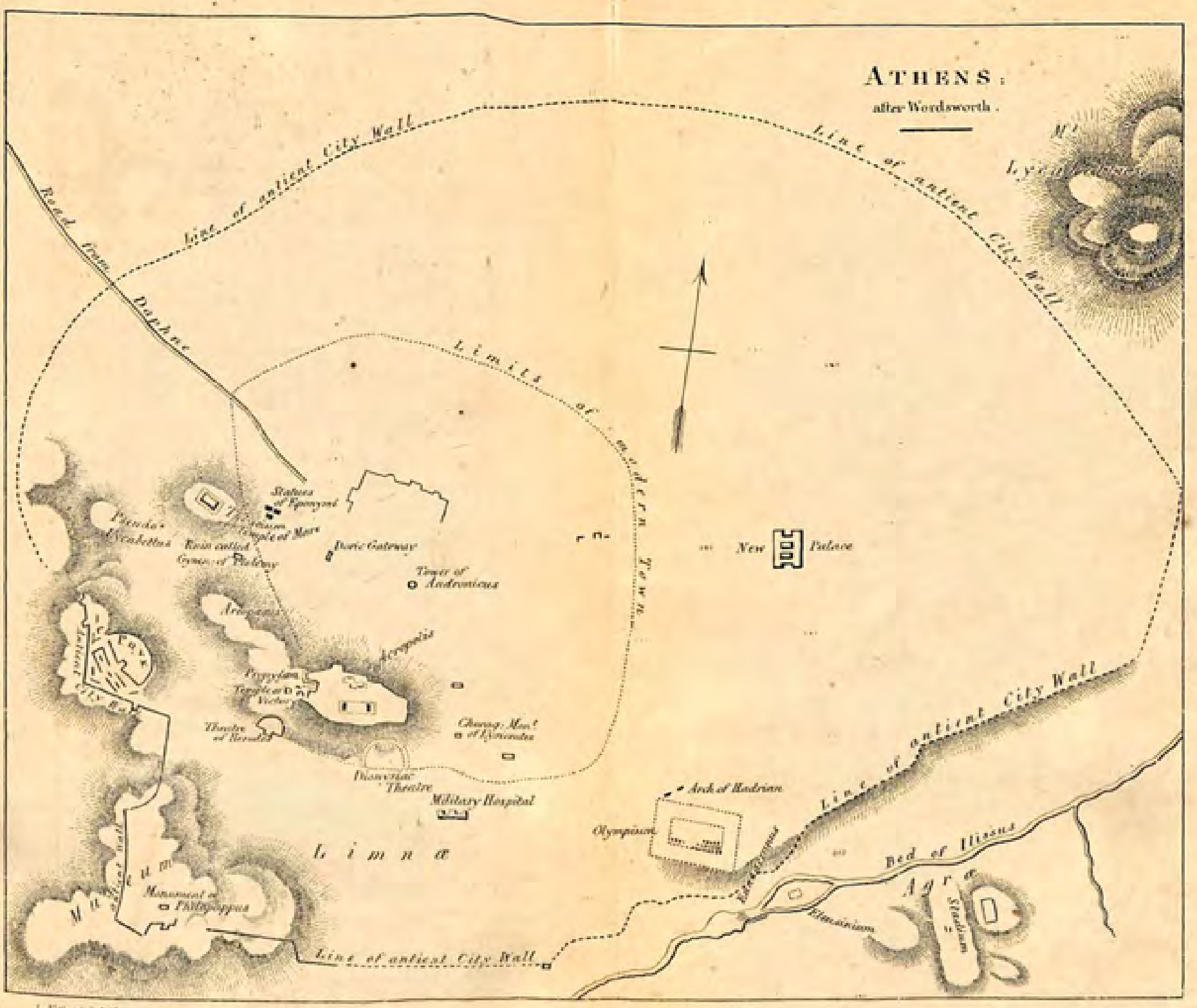
CHAPTER XXVI.

GENIUS OF ATHENS AS TYPIFIED IN HER EXTANT MONUMENTS—UNCERTAINTIES OF ATHENIAN TOPOGRAPHY.

οὐ τάδε θελξιμελὴς Ἀμφιονὶς ἤρατο Μοῦσα,
οὐδὲ Κυκλωπείας χειρὸς ἔλασσε βία.

"No muse-inspired Amphion raised these walls,
Their structure no Cyclopian hand recalls."

Among the cities of first distinction in the historical ages of Greece, Athens is perhaps the one which plays comparatively the least important part in her heroic annals. To those who have been accustomed, as is doubtless the case with many, to form their notions of early Greek history and mythology from the page of the Attic dramatists, this may, perhaps, appear a somewhat paradoxical opinion. But the genuine traditions of the heroic age must be estimated by its genuine organs. It requires but a very moderate share of critical acumen to perceive, that many of the Attic fables which, on the establishment of the political and literary ascendency of Athens, were permanently invested with a national or panhellenic character, similar to those of Thebes, Argos, and Mycenæ, were, in their origin, if not arbitrary corruptions of the primitive legend, at the best mere local traditions, enlarged and adorned by the genius of her native writers, anxious to maintain the celebrity of their country, at every period of her history, on a footing with that of her neighbours; and whose efforts have been crowned



J. Nethercliff Lithog.

with signal, and, it must be admitted, deserved success. Athens, indeed, has scarcely a fabulous worthy, of any universal celebrity, with the exception of Theseus; who certainly stands forth, from a very remote period, among the giant heroes of the olden time. All the other prominent legends of genuine Attic origin have a physiological, rather than an historical character, while their heroes are figurative personifications rather than representatives of a human agency. Athens plays but a sorry part in the page of Homer, the fountain-head of the genuine heroic fable of Greece. Her king, Menestheus, scarcely occupies a secondary rank among the chiefs of the host before Troy. He is, indeed, the only warrior of name who is never represented as killing his man, or so much as entering the lists with an adversary. Nor does the Iliad present any other champion, among the Athenians, distinguished from the vulgar crowd of combatants; while the poet's incidental allusions to their concerns at large, are no way compatible with the belief in that prominent rank among the Greek states, at this early period, which we see them occupy in the page of their own poets five or six centuries afterwards. Homer's text furnishes positive as well as negative evidence of the late origin of some of the most popular Attic legends, in the contradiction it offers to their most essential particulars.*

The national boast of the Athenians in later times, that they alone, among the leaders of the confederacy, could make good an indigenous origin, or an uninterrupted possession of their primitive seats, combined with other traditions originating in this claim, seems indeed to imply an acknowledgment on their own part, that their virtues at that remote period were rather of a sedentary than an enterprizing character. While other nations, whether as a consequence of their own rest-

* See additional note at the end of the volume.

less ambition, or of the ordinary vicissitudes of a barbarous state of society, wandered, or were driven, from country to country, they gloried rather in the pacific maintenance of their own boundaries, and in the opportunities it afforded them of showing kindness and hospitality to their distressed neighbours. Hence the prominent place assigned in their traditions to the refuge afforded by them to Œdipus and to Adrastus, when driven from Thebes; to the Heraclidæ, when ejected from Peloponnesus by the Pelopidæ; and to these last, when fugitives in their turn from the Heraclidæ. Hence their fabulous tribunal of Areopagus, as the common court of last resort in the graver class of criminal actions, to litigants, both human and divine, from every part of the Hellenic world.

This, however, is a feature of the history of Athens which, if properly estimated, no way detracts from the interest with which we contemplate her ruins. At an early stage of this Journal we had occasion to remark, that the power of the associations connected with a particular spot, may be rather enhanced than weakened, by being concentrated around a limited period or train of events. The feelings with which we wander among the ruins of the Castle of Ulysses, or the Cyclopian acropolis of Agamemnon, would not be improved, had either Ithaca or Mycenæ remained throughout historical ages a powerful or a flourishing community. The converse of this observation holds equally good in the case of Athens. That city was destined to be the leader of Greece and of Europe, not so much in the arts of war as in those of peace. Hence, during the period when the youthful energies of her neighbours and rivals were wasted in barbarous adventures or acts of outrage, her talents would appear to have been providentially treasured up, in order that they might be ultimately brought

to bear, with unimpaired vigour and freshness, on the period best fitted to derive the full benefit from their exercise. This decree of destiny is figuratively shadowed forth from her very infancy, in her selection as the chosen seat and name-child of the goddess of science—an honour which forms her most solid title to distinction among her fellow states during the mythical ages, and of which no rigour of historical criticism can deprive her. Accordingly, by another singular enough coincidence, she is indebted for the few more pointed marks of attention with which she has been honoured by Homer, to the worship of this deity in her city and territory.*

The character of her extant monuments is in happy keeping with this feature of her history. Although superior in number, variety, and elegance, to those which the united cities of Greece can now show, there is not one that can advance a reasonable claim to an heroic origin. Here are no mysterious Treasuries, or massive mausolea of semi-barbarous patriarchal chiefs; no "Heavenly Cyclopian walls;"† not even a fragment of polygonal masonry to attest her own Pelasgic origin, or the works of her Pelasgic architects. This defect, if such it can be called, of her architectural remains, has been concisely stated and admitted in the inscription still legible on a remnant of an uncertain building among her ruins, which has been placed at the head of this chapter, as equally applicable to all those of Athens. The one among her monuments whose claims to remote antiquity, as resting both on its own appearance and on reasonable probability, appear to be the strongest, is the Pnyx, or great Athenian council-hall. This is as it should be. The Pnyx, as representing the republican constitution of Athens, is but a type of the genius that

* *Il.* ii. 546, *seq. Odyss.* vii. 80.

† Κυκλώπεια οὐράνια τείχη.—Eurip. *Troad.* 1088. *Electr.* 1158.

regulated her whole social and political career. The history of this massive and simple structure comprehends, in fact, her own. In her youthful and virtuous days, it was the cradle of her power; in her old age, the source of her corruption. It is the theatre on which the great drama of her existence was acted; the birthplace and the sepulchre of her glory.

Since the establishment of the present government, the settlement of several distinguished Greek scholars at Athens, together with the greater frequency of occasional visitors of the same class, has rendered the topography of the ancient city more than ever a subject of critical investigation. The present tendency of all historical enquiry, more especially of that directed to classical subjects, is not favourable to the durability of received opinions; and the monuments of Athens, in the fluctuating plans of the present race of antiquaries, seem destined to undergo the same vicissitudes of name and character to which those of Rome have been subjected during the last three centuries. Speculative varieties of opinion are indeed almost as old and as numerous, comparatively speaking, among the topographers of the one as of the other city; but those of more ancient date are here for the most part of little value, otherwise than as affording amusement by their frivolity or extravagance, when tested by the more sound researches of our own times.* It is to be feared, however, that many of the best accredited theories of the present school, if more plausible and ingenious, will hardly be found better able than their

* The Parthenon has been called the Pantheon, and the Temple of the unknown God; the Propylæa the Arsenal of Lycurgus; the Olympium the Palace of Hadrian. The choragic monument of Lysicrates still bears the vulgar name of Lantern of Demosthenes. The Pnyx has been taken in respectable quarters for the Areopagus—the Odeum —or the Theatre of Regilla.

predecessors to withstand the spirit of sceptical analysis with which they are now destined to be assailed.

It is not my intention to enter very closely on the more subtle details of Athenian topography. The small degree of taste which I remember to have imbibed for this species of research during a first visit to Rome in early youth, has long been superseded by the habit of concentrating my interest in ancient monuments around the realities, rather than the speculative probabilities of their history. An exception, no doubt, must be made in favour of those uncertain monuments, which, either from their own magnitude and beauty, from their remote and mysterious antiquity, or their more especial tendency to elucidate doubtful and interesting questions of history or of art, derive a more powerful claim on the attention of every intelligent student of antiquity. But the case is different with questions regarding the exact line of a wall, or the precise position of a gate, all traces of which have been extinct for the last thousand years; whether a particular column of indifferent Roman style belonged to a stoa, a gymnasium, or a basilica; whether there were two agoras or one, in the time of the Antonines; or what may have been the exact site of each of the 174 demi or parishes of Attica, the names of many of which have scarcely been transmitted with sufficient certainty to afford positive evidence that they ever existed at all. These are points in the decision of which, I confess, I do not feel very deeply concerned. My own speculations will comprise little more than such remarks as naturally suggested themselves in the course of a ten days' survey of the actual site and remains of the city, with an eye, perhaps, rather to their picturesque than their archæological features, and with incidental allusion to the effects, of which the late change in her political destinies has been, or may be productive, on those of her monuments.

Let not these observations, however, be understood in the least degree to reflect on the utility of such researches, still less to disparage the zeal and ingenuity which so many distinguished scholars have displayed in their prosecution. Every addition, however small, to our stock of knowledge, in whatever department of science, has its value; and it is hence the more fortunate, that among the varieties of taste in historical pursuit, persons of learning and talent are found willing to devote themselves to those particular branches which, to others, appear most dry and laborious. The identifying a single stone among the rubbish of an ancient city, or the deciphering a letter of a mutilated inscription, may lead to as important results in the science of history, as the measurement of a mathematical figure, or the analysis of a chemical property, in the exact sciences.

To those who take a livelier interest in the picturesque beauty than in the architectural remains of Athens, the most important of the late innovations is that which affects the lofty insulated mountain, called the Hill of St George, which bounds the site of the city to the eastward. This is not only the most prominent, but upon the whole the most ornamental, among the natural features of the immediate environs, and is in fact to Athens what Vesuvius is to Naples, or Arthur's Seat to Edinburgh. Hence the traveller who, like myself, on his approach to the city, was unacquainted with the recent speculations concerning it, must have felt at a loss to account for the insignificant part it plays in the accredited systems of Attic topography, and still more for the neglect which, if they were to be trusted, it must have experienced on the part of the ancients themselves; accustomed, as they are, to dwell with such fondness, both in prose and verse, on the beauties of their native scenery, and amid the divine honours bestowed on the

streamless river that winds round its base, or the distant hills that bound the landscape, of which it forms so noble a foreground.

Till within the last few years, the classical title by common consent assigned it, was Anchesmus, a name which occurs but in one single passage of Pausanias, as that of an undefined Attic hill distinguished for a sanctuary of Jupiter. It has, however, lately been decided, with nearly equal unanimity on the part of the learned, to transfer to it the title of Lycabettus,* hitherto very undeservedly bestowed upon an insignificant piece of rock at the foot of the Museum. This change restores the hill of St George to its just honours; Mount Lycabettus being an object of no small celebrity, and a frequent and favourite subject of allusion with the standard writers of the best ages.†

A still more startling innovation is the proposal of Dr Ross, to transfer the edifice of white marble, familiarly known by the name of Temple of Theseus, from the worship of the Attic hero to that of the god Mars.‡ If his view be established—and the arguments in support of it are certainly very formidable—the change will not be limited to this temple; for its assumed identity with the Heroum of Theseus forms a main pivot of every system of Athenian topography, and more especially of some of the most elaborate lately promulgated; which, if this prop be removed, must fall to the ground.

* The principal arguments and authorities on the subject, which are as curious and interesting to the scholar as they are conclusive, will be found in Leake's late article on Athenian Topography in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, vol. iii. p. 211, *seq.*

† Strabo, among others, characterizes it in terms virtually the same as those above employed, as the Vesuvius or Arthur's Seat of Athens, coupling under the same category: "Athens and its Lycabettus—Ithaca and its Neriton—Lacedæmon and its Taÿgetus—Rhodes and its Atabyris."—Lib. x. p. 662, Ed. Falcon.

‡ See additional note at the end of the volume.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE PNYX, OR GREAT COUNCIL-HALL OF ATHENS.

ἔρημος ἡ πνὺξ αὐτηί.—ARISTOPH. *Acharn.* 20.

"The Pnyx itself is now a solitude."

IF, among the monuments of Athens, the Pnyx* be not to every one, as for the reasons above assigned it is to me, that to which the deepest interest attaches, it is certainly the one whose existing features bring home the associations from whence that interest is derived, with the most powerful reality to the senses. It is a large semicircular area, on the level face of a rocky eminence, sloping gently towards the city. The chord of the semicircle is a wall or ledge of no great height, partly cut in the solid rock, partly built of colossal masonry, to supply the irregularities of the strata. It may thus be compared to a theatre, the shell of which, instead of curving upwards, slopes downwards from the orchestra. The upper part of the area adjoining the wall is also solid rock; the lower is forced earth, rendered necessary to complete its level, and is supported by a retaining wall of the same colossal character as that of the upper boundary. From the centre of this upper wall or ledge projects a square block, hewn out of the solid cliff into the shape of a pedestal, to a considerable height above the level of the area, and accessible by a flight of steps. This is the

* Πνύξ; from πνίγω—πνίξ—πυκνός—crowding or squeezing,

pulpit or Bema, familiarly called "the Stone," (λίθος) by Attic writers, from whence the orators addressed the multitude. Hence the term is also used as a figure of the state or government of Athens. The "master of the stone" indicates the ruling demagogue of the day.* The position and perfect preservation of this relic can leave no doubt of its identity; and the traveller who mounts its summit may safely say, what perhaps cannot be said with equal certainty of any other spot, and any other body of great men in antiquity: Here have stood Demosthenes, Pericles, Themistocles, Aristides, even Solon; for every feature of this monument authorizes the belief that it dates from an epoch prior to that great man. †

In standing upon the equally bare, though much broader summit of the neighbouring Areopagus, he may say—though not perhaps with the same degree of literal exactness: Upon this spot stood St Paul, when he reasoned with the men of Athens on matters of still greater moment than those of their democracy. It were difficult to imagine two localities within the same narrow circuit, calculated to draw more largely on the sympathies of the classical or the Christian traveller.

It would scarcely appear that the Pnyx could ever have been a very convenient place for its purpose. It supplied no natural species of gallery, similar to the cavea of the more regularly theatrical places of public assembly; while the tendency to convex in the form of

* Aristoph. *Pax.* 680; *Equites*, 956; *Acharn.* 683. Herein, too, lies the point of the allusion in *v.* 528, *seq.* of the Thesmophoriazusæ:

τὴν παροιμίαν παραινῶ,
τὴν παλαιάν·
ὑπὸ λίθῳ γὰρ παντί που χρὴ
μὴ δάκῃ ῥήτωρ ἀθρεῖν.

† See additional note at the end of the volume.

its arena was in itself rather unfavourable both for seeing and hearing. Nor, up to a late period at least, was it provided with seats, or any species of accommodation for the assembled crowd of councillors, who either stood or sat on the bare rock.* The Prytanes alone enjoyed the privilege of wooden benches.† Herein we have further evidence of the great antiquity of the monument, reflecting the simplicity and hardihood of public, as well as private life, among the Greeks in primitive ages.‡ The discomfort, however, seems to have been felt in the days of Aristophanes, and furnishes him with one of the burlesque arguments which, in the comedy of the Knights, he places in the mouth of the sausage-vending antagonist of Cleon, for the purpose of undermining the popularity of that demagogue. The former appears with a cushion in his hand, as an earnest of the greater attention to their comfort, which the democracy may expect from him when preferred as their leader, and when they shall no longer be obliged to squat on the bare rock, as they did in the isle of Salamis, when they took refuge in its fastnesses from the Persian invasion:

> "To him it matters not a whit,
> How long on these bare rocks you sit;
> No cushion soft he ever brought you,
> Like that which I, see here! have wrought you;
> Then take and use it, lest once more
> Your hinder parts be gall'd as sore,
> As when upon the stony sides
> Of Salamis ye rubb'd your hides."—*v.* 783.

It was customary in the theatres, and other places of

* χαμαί, Aristoph. *Vesp.* 43. Hence the facility with which the women in the *Ecclesiaz. v.* 90, expect to pass for men, by tucking up their drapery under them, so that only the upper part of their person, disguised with beard and male attire, should be seen.

† Aristoph. *Acharn.* 25.

‡ See *Pollux*, viii. 133. κατεσκευασμένην κατὰ τὴν παλαιὰν ἁπλότητα, οὐκ εἰς θεάτρου πολυπραγμοσύνην.

public assembly, for the spectators, who had any regard for their personal comfort, to bring cushions along with them. Hence Demosthenes is taunted by Æschines* as a sycophant, for performing the same office to persons with whom he wished to ingratiate himself, as the sausage-vender is made to do by Aristophanes to the Demus.

It is probable, therefore, that the present appearance of the whole lower portion of the area is very similar to what it presented in the days of Pericles. On occasion of my first visit, a few goats, stragglers from a herd browsing on the heights of the Museum, were reposing on its arid surface, fatigued, no doubt, with their search after the scanty morsels of herbage it supplied; thus realizing, in a very lively manner, the first two verses of the dream of Sosias in the *Wasps*, which form the exordium to a series of the most admirable touches of satire to be found even in the works of Aristophanes:

> ἔδοξέ μοι περὶ πρῶτον ὕπνον ἐν τῇ Πνυκὶ
> ἐκκλησιάζειν πρόβατα συγκαθήμενα.—*Vesp.* 31.

"Methought I saw upon the Pnyx a flock
Of sheep in grave deliberation sit." . . .

Nor was the Pnyx provided like other theatres with any species of shade or awning, to protect the assembly from the rays of the sun, which, as reflected from its area and the surrounding rocks, must have been insufferably scorching. Hence, no doubt, the custom of holding the councils at daybreak; and persons more especially interested in the business of the day, or desirous of securing good places, were obliged to rise in the dark for that purpose.† This custom, so different from that which now prevails, appears, however, to be as old as the days

* *De Falsa Legat.* xlii. 33, and *Contr. Ctesiph.* lxiv. 27. Ed. Reisk. conf. Theophrast. *Charact.* 11.

† Aristoph. *Eccles.* 20, 352. *Acharn.* 19, *seq.*

of Homer.* The disasters of the Greek fleet on leaving Troy, are ascribed to the circumstance of the council in which the embarkation was fixed having been held, "contrary to established usage, towards sunset, when the eyes of the Greeks were heavy with wine."† This latter reason supplies a good argument in all ages for the early sitting of parliament.

* *Il.* ii. 48. *Odyss.* ii. init. viii. init.
† *Odyss.* iii. 138.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

ACROPOLIS—STATE AND PROSPECTS OF ATHENS AS REGARDS ART AND ANTIQUITY.

μετὰ δὲ ἠρώτα εἴ τις ἔτι λείπεται τῶν ἀπὸ Φειδίου.
LUCIAN, *Icarom.*

"He afterwards enquired who were the successors of Phidias.

THE exertions of the Græco-Bavarian Government towards the discovery, maintenance, or restoration of ancient monuments, have hitherto been concentrated almost exclusively within the limits of the Acropolis; and thus far, it must be admitted, the result of its measures reflects credit on the zeal, industry, and judgment of this department of administration. The walls of the Propylæa, with the extant columns of its portico, are in a great measure disengaged from the unseemly masses of Turkish masonry in which they were formerly imbedded; the original plan of the structure, which was before matter of doubtful speculation, can now be recognized nearly in its whole extent; and the square bulwark forming its left flank, which was lately the basement of a Turkish bastion, presents at least the skeleton of the celebrated Pinacotheca, or picture-gallery, mentioned in the description of Pausanias.

The opposite or southern bulwark is still covered by a lofty square tower, erected, probably, by the Frank princes of the middle ages. The future fate of this structure was a matter under consideration at this

period, and one upon which some difference of opinion existed; but the predominant feeling seemed to be in favour of its removal. It is built almost entirely of solid blocks of marble, from the ruins of the Propylæa, or of other ancient buildings in the neighbourhood. While its materials, therefore, are the same, its masonry is also so compact and substantial, as to require a somewhat close examination, before any great difference can be perceived between its style or merit, and that of the contiguous works of the Periclean age. It forms, whether as seen from the interior of the Acropolis, or the immediate environs, a great addition both to its dignity as a fortress, and to its picturesque beauty; and in the distance gives its whole outline a relief and effect, which the other more classical edifices on its summit fail to impart. The ancient building on which it is erected, the right wing or bastion of the Propylæa, is confessedly but an unimportant constituent part of that edifice, being much smaller than the one on the opposite side, containing the Pinacothek; nor is there good reason to suppose that the materials of the tower itself comprise any valuable remains of antiquity. Under all these circumstances, I cannot but think that its demolition would be an act of Gothic barbarism, little short of that of which its constructors may have been guilty, in the robbery of the neighbouring buildings to procure materials for their work.

The only argument I remember to have heard urged in favour of the proposed plan, is the abstract propriety of relieving the structures of Pericles from the encroachments of the barbarous ages, and restoring them, in as far as may yet be possible, to their original state; a duty the more imperative in the present case, as being necessary to complete the work already begun in the excavation of the rest of the Propylæa, and to enable us to

judge effectually of the entire plan and proportions of so remarkable an edifice. Such arguments, no doubt, may have weight with many. It is, however, very questionable how far the real interest of a classic monument may be in every case necessarily depreciated by its having been combined, in its ruined state, with others of a more barbarous period; while it will hardly be disputed, that such combinations are often in the highest degree favourable to picturesque effect. Nor would even the small addition that might be anticipated, in the present instance, to our knowledge of the architecture of the Periclean era, compensate for the destruction of so striking a feature of the old Athenian Acropolis, with which we are familiar since the days of Stuart and Revett, and which has been immortalized on the canvass of so many of the first landscape painters of our own age.

A nearly twenty years' experience of the vicissitudes to which the ruins of Rome have been subjected at the hands of this practical school of classical dilettanti, has led me, I confess, to contemplate with horror both their principles and their performances. Among the chief features that formerly attracted admiration in the Baths of Caracalla, one of the grandest, if not the most elegant of Roman monuments, and which formed its great excellence as a study for the painter, were the forests of evergreens that clothed its otherwise bare brick walls, or hung in rich festoons from the summit and sides of its broken arches. During the last season I passed in Rome, the whole structure was stripped of this beautiful appendage, by order of the person who then officiated as high-priest of the temple of archæological taste in that city, on pretext that the creepers were detrimental to the preservation of the building. Every one familiar with the arch of Titus in the drawings of Piranesi, must have admired the effect produced by the combination of

its solid masses of marble with the light brickwork of the thirteenth century, into the baronial fortress of the Frangipani, which, in those days, it still represented. Nowhere, perhaps, are the desolating effects of this prurient thirst for classical restoration more lamentably exemplified, than in the paltry gateway of Travertine stone, in which the same fragments of the sculptures of the Flavian age are now encased, like a tattered robe of rich brocade or damask patched up in a framework of new spun cotton and worsted. There is perhaps more excuse in the case of the Coliseum, where the repairs were, in a great measure, necessary for the immediate support of the building, although so tastelessly executed, that its picturesque effect is completely sacrificed from every point of view where even the least offensive of them are visible. It is certainly a nice question, whether it were not better to allow any such ruin to carry its beauty along with it to the grave, into which, if left to its natural fate, it might, perhaps a thousand years hence, be destined to crumble, than to bolster up its existence by such hideous expedients.

But the object which, on nearer approach, can hardly fail, by its novelty as well as beauty, most forcibly to attract the attention of the traveller familiar with the Acropolis only through the medium of the older drawings or descriptions, is the little Temple of Victory, situated on the south-west edge of the precipice, immediately below the tower. This building, which was still in existence when Wheler and Spon visited Athens in 1676, had long disappeared before the days of the present, or even the last generation of travellers. Some fragments of masonry, however, supposed to belong to it, still remained visible on the ground in the neighbourhood of its former site; and four slabs of its sculptured frieze, which had been built into a neighbouring wall, found their way,

in the course of Lord Elgin's operations, to the British Museum. One of the first undertakings of the Royal Conservators of Antiquities, was the excavation and recomposition of its materials. It has now, under the magic auspices of Messrs Ross and Schaubert, risen like a phœnix from its ashes; and, as seen from a little distance, has much the appearance of a new but unfinished edifice; its white marble columns and walls glittering in the sun, with a splendour little short of that which they displayed when fresh from the chisels of their original constructors. The materials were found nearly complete, buried under an upper story of rubbish belonging to Turkish buildings on the same site, ruined posterior to itself. This temple is of very small dimensions, and of the class called by Vitruvius amphiprostyle; consisting of a cell with four Ionic columns at each front, but none at the sides. The walls of the cell, with the two porticos, have been reconstructed in their integrity. The remains of the entablature, comprising nearly the whole frieze, with the exception of the pieces in the British Museum, were lying in a neighbouring shed, preparatory to being replaced. The reliefs are of the most perfect period of art, representing Greeks triumphant over Persians, or other oriental barbarians, in a style somewhat more easy and lively than that of Phidias. The epoch of the construction of this temple is doubtful. Some place it earlier; but it cannot well be brought lower than the Periclean era.*

A somewhat similar process of restoration was carrying on in the case of the Erechtheum. Many of its lost fragments had already been disinterred and replaced;

* Dr Ross dates it as early as Olymp. 78, about 460 B. C., and supposes the subject of the frieze may be the Battle of Marathon—or the victory of Cimon on the Eurymedon.—*Acropolis von Athen.* Berl. 1839.

and, as I understood from Signor Pittakys, who, since the appointment of Dr Ross to the professorship of Greek literature, holds the office of Conservator of Antiquities, it was the intention of the government to make good the remaining deficiencies to the extent of a complete reconstruction of the building, walls, porticos, and roof. In a neighbouring workshop, a Swiss sculptor was engaged in the execution of a new Caryatid of Pentelic marble, to supply the place of that removed by Lord Elgin. Capitals of columns and other ornamental pieces of masonry were also in progress. Signor Pittakys also expressed his conviction, that almost the whole of the architectural materials of the ruined portion of the Parthenon were lying where they had fallen, and might be replaced for a very small sum; and seemed sanguine of being able, with the help of a few blocks from Pentelicus, to carry into effect his project for its complete renovation. I was unable to congratulate him with any sincerity upon these prospects. The restitution of a building under circumstances similar to those above described in the Temple of Victory, ought doubtless to be a subject of gratification to every lover of art or antiquity. The same perhaps may be felt as regards the replacing of the fragments dislodged, in the course of the late devastations, from an edifice previously in so entire a state as the Erechtheum. But there is a limit to such projects; and the case becomes altogether different as regards the reconstruction of a ruin such as the Parthenon, by the aid of foreign materials, and the efforts of modern artists.

How far the restoration, even of a mutilated statue or relief of first-rate ancient workmanship, be a commendable object, has always been a doubtful question with men of taste; although the arguments on the affirmative side are here perhaps stronger than in the case of mere works of

architecture. Even here, however, it seems at least to be desirable, that the material employed in the repairs should be of such a nature, and the restoration itself so managed, that the adventitious parts should be easily distinguishable from the original work, and have no pretensions to be any thing more than a sort of stand or frame-work, to aid our judgment of what may have been, rather perhaps than what really were, its genuine proportions. It is certainly very doubtful whether the practice that has hitherto prevailed, of employing the greatest living artists to replace the defective parts of the more excellent fragments of ancient sculpture with precisely similar material, prepared by all the trickery of the profession to imitate, as closely as possible, both the form and colour, even the decay of the marble, and render it difficult or impossible for the unpractised eye to distinguish between ancient and modern in the renovated figure, be conducive to a more accurate perception of the character and spirit of the original, as it existed in its integrity. It may be said, however, that some of the most serious objections to the repair of works of statuary do not apply to those of architecture. In the former, the previous position or exact proportions of the deficient parts must always, even in the simplest cases, be more or less matter of conjecture, and the restored work, by consequence, but a false or doubtful representation of the entire figure. Hence the smallest increase or diminution of bulk in the supplementary parts, or the least deviation from the original attitude, might be sufficient to mar or extinguish the genuine effect of the whole. The case is certainly different with a piece of architecture like the Parthenon, of the plan of which, as regards the exterior at least, we have, it may almost be said, as accurate a knowledge as the artist who designed it, and where, by consequence, the repairs could hardly fail faithfully to represent both

its primary form and proportions. But, on the other hand, it must be remembered, that while even the finest statue, in a mutilated state, must always be comparatively an unseemly object, a mutilated building, or, in other words, a ruin, is usually in itself a beautiful, in many instances a far more beautiful, one than it was in its integrity. It were indeed preposterous to institute any comparison between the beauty of the ruined Parthenon of our own age, and the entire Parthenon of Pericles, resplendent with all those decorative accessaries which the genius of the first artists of Greece was capable of accumulating within the bounds of such an edifice. These, however, no effort of modern art can ever replace; and without them, deprived also of the associations connected with the vicissitudes of time and destiny which its ruins, as they now exist, have survived, and of the picturesque effect which, as a ruin alone, it possesses, it is very certain that an entire Parthenon, as contemplated in the restoration of the modern directors of Attic taste, would be an object very inferior, both in beauty and interest, to the majestic remains that have inherited the name.

That the picturesque effect of the building which now forms so essential an element of its beauty, would be sacrificed by the completion of the projected repairs, there cannot be a doubt. A regular Grecian temple, in its integrity, as the most perfect model of architecture, in order to be justly appreciated, must be contemplated solely as an architectural work. The same nice harmony and proportion of the parts, the same compactness and solidity as a whole, which form its excellence as a work of art, detract from its effect as a single feature of a landscape. In its entire state, the most excellent structure of this class is perhaps a less picturesque object than many a modern village church, convent, or villa, in

a comparatively corrupt and semi-barbarous style. These remarks, it is true, must be limited to the appearance of such edifices in our own day, and in their solitary and isolated capacity. When grouped with others of equal elegance and greater variety of form, the case was probably very different. The fact itself, however, with this limitation, may be exemplified by a comparison of the Theseum, not merely with the gigantic Parthenon, but with other ruined temples of even inferior size—those, for example, of Ægina, Girgenti, or Pæstum. The first view of this celebrated edifice, as seen from a few miles' distance by the traveller approaching from the west, is very disappointing. As contemplated from the point for which the effect of its architectural combinations were calculated, it excites nothing but admiration. But as an object in the general landscape, it possesses comparatively little of that adventitious charm which imparts to the ruined portico, even of many a much more diminutive temple, an air of vastness and grandeur, altogether out of proportion to its real bulk; and appears, in fact, but a middling-sized oblong colonnade, supporting a roof. This remark applies, perhaps, more pointedly to the Doric than to the other orders of architecture, where a superior loftiness of proportion, and greater variety of light and shade, afford a more effectual relief to the compact solidity of the architectural whole.

The only considerable relic of modern structure now in the Acropolis, besides the tower at its S.W. angle, is the mosque in the centre of the Parthenon; the removal of which would not, probably, be detrimental to the general effect of the ruin. Upon the whole, although the summit of the Acropolis, since its area has been cleared of its other Turkish appendages, presents a

somewhat bare and desolate aspect, and is probably a far less picturesque scene than it was in Turkish times, yet hitherto it may be said, that what has been done, has been done well. But if the square tower be pulled down—if the Erechtheum and the Parthenon be restored and roofed in upon the new renovating principles—if the surrounding area be then levelled, paved, and appropriated, as will doubtless be the case if the system now in vogue continue to be acted upon, to displays of modern Hellenic taste in architecture—the result will hardly be such as to afford matter of congratulation to any true lover of art or antiquity.

It is indeed to be feared, that the mode in which the anxiety of the new state to honour and preserve the monuments of her ancient metropolis has hitherto been exhibited, may not only tend to defeat, but may even already in a great measure have defeated, its own object. The selection of Athens as the capital, a tribute partly to her pre-eminence in ancient history, partly, no doubt, to the number and beauty of her extant remains, was not probably, in any point of view, the most fortunate that could have been made. That it was not so in either a political or military respect, is a common, if not a universal opinion, among those best qualified to judge in such matters, upon grounds which it were foreign to our purpose to recapitulate.* But to the antiquary or the artist, the selection is still more to be deplored. At the conclusion of the war the whole area of the city was

* The preferable claims of Nauplia, more especially, or the Argolis at large, are such as to have forced themselves on several of the most experienced veterans of the revolution, by whom I have heard them urged; persons, too, in whom a taste for classical antiquity, combined with an accurate knowledge of the civil and military geography of Greece, afforded the surest guarantee that their judgment was impartial.

one heap of rubbish, strewed over the surface of a soil composed, in many places perhaps to the depth of thirty or forty feet, of fragments of ancient Athenian magnificence. There was never so favourable an opportunity offered, on so favourable a spot, for antiquarian discovery; and a well-conducted series of excavations, however slowly carried into effect, would not only have brought to light many treasures of ancient art, but have uncovered, to a great extent, the plan of the ancient city, its streets, and principal edifices. Here the circumstances are far more propitious than in the waste grounds of Rome. In her case, after the destruction of the old city, the inhabitants removed to the open space of the Campus Martius, and the ruins of their former habitations became, and have more or less remained ever since, a quarry for the materials employed in the construction of a large and splendid modern city. At Athens, on the other hand, as the buildings of the old city mouldered into ruins, the hovels of the modern town sprang up on the same site; and as the lightest materials were preferred in their construction, it is to be supposed that the more valuable remains of antiquity have been allowed to lie in a great measure undisturbed. The selection of Athens as the seat of government, followed up by the draught of a plan for a new town, and the rapid spread of new structures over the portion of the ancient site where the noblest edifices were formerly accumulated, has permanently extinguished all hopes of profiting by these favourable circumstances. As regards the Acropolis, it may further be remembered, that the natural features of this rock have at all periods rendered its summit a dangerous position for the monuments that adorn it; and the wonder is, perhaps, how any portion of them should have survived the vicissitudes to which they have already been exposed. As long as the capital

of the country surrounds its base, in spite of all the present schemes to convert it into a great museum of art, an Acropolis, in the military sense of the word, it must still remain. While Greece continues to enjoy the uninterrupted blessings of peace, the improvements of Signor Pittákys may continue to be successfully prosecuted; but should she, as can hardly fail to be the case at no very distant period, again become the theatre of war, foreign or domestic, the site of the Parthenon will probably be one of the first victims of its ravages. On the approach of an enemy, by sea or by land, it can hardly fail to become, if not the chosen stronghold of a faction, a place of refuge for persons and goods. Motives of public or personal security will then outweigh all considerations of taste and virtù; its museums and temples will afford, even in its present dismantled state, too convenient a material for its refortification, and will again be converted into magazines or bastions, and their valuables into weapons of defence.

The best mode of promoting the interests of Greek art, as concentrated around Athens, would have been to have made her, not the London or Paris, but the Windsor or Versailles of the new court. The seat of government might have been fixed at Nauplia, or in whatever other position was considered most central and convenient; Athens might have become the favourite villa or country residence of the sovereign. The town, being then limited to such buildings as were requisite for the accommodation of his court, might have been so planned as to encroach as little as possible on the area of the ancient city, which would thus have been left as one extensive field for the prosecution of the most interesting of all researches.

The mosque in the interior of the Parthenon has been converted into a repository for the relics brought to

light, from day to day, in the excavations of the Acropolis. Those discovered in the plain below, or in the provinces, are preserved in the Temple of Theseus, which has also been fitted up as a museum. The collection of the Parthenon is already so rich, as to require the additional accommodation of several temporary structures. Among its more interesting contents, are the architectural fragments of the old Hecatompedon or primitive Parthenon, destroyed by the Persians; which were found imbedded in the rubbish employed, after the completion of the new structure, to level the surrounding area. They are of stone, of not very fine quality, covered with stucco, on which the ornamental portions are painted of various colours, chiefly blue, red, and yellow. There have also been discovered, similarly buried, numerous large blocks of marble, wrought and unwrought, among which are some colossal drums of columns, originally destined for the peristyle of the new temple, but thrown aside from some defect in the material or the execution. A large portion of the rubbish in which they are imbedded consists of marble chippings, the same doubtless that once strewed the workshops of Ictinus and Phidias. From the midst of it have also been culled many of that minor class of relics, which, by their very homeliness, realize more effectually to the imagination the epoch from whence they have been preserved, and thus speak more directly and powerfully to the sympathies, than gigantic ruins or high-wrought works of finished art. Such are the fragments of the tools handled by the workmen, or even perhaps by the great masters themselves, to whom these precious models of the perfection of art are indebted for their existence; the lead pencils employed in sketching the design, the chisel and mallet in its execution; the wooden dovetails that connected the drums of

the columns, and other contiguous blocks of the masonry of the Hecatompedon; pieces of charred wood, still fresh from the flames of the Persian conflagration; besides small bronze images, and other coeval fragments of the inferior departments of art.*

* See additional note at end of volume.

CHAPTER XXIX.

OLYMPIUM—ILISSUS—FOUNTAIN OF ENNEACRUNUS.

μετὰ δὲ ἠρώτα δι' ἣν αἰτίαν ἐλλίποιεν Ἀθηναῖοι τὰ Διάσια τοσούτων ἐτῶν· καὶ εἰ τὸ Ὀλύμπιον αὐτῶν ἐπιτελέσαι διανοοῦνται.
LUCIAN. *Icarom.*

"He afterwards enquired for what reason the Athenians had neglected the rites of Jove during so many years, and whether they had any thoughts of completing the Olympium."

NEXT to the Acropolis, and the region to the westward, containing the Pnyx, Theseum, and Areopagus, the most interesting portion of the ancient city is that extending in an easterly direction from the theatre of Herodes Atticus, at the south-west corner of the rock, to the Panathenaic stadium on the south side of the Ilissus. Between these limits are situated, nearly in a straight line, besides the two monuments already mentioned, the Dionysiac theatre, the choragic monument of Lysicrates, the Arch of Hadrian, the Olympium, and the fountain of Enneacrunus. This, as we also learn from Thucydides,* was the most ancient part of the lower city; in the days of Pisistratus, still its most distinguished quarter, and the one selected for the chief public works—buildings, gardens, fountains—commenced or completed by that munificent usurper, for the benefit or ornament of his capital. We shall consider its existing objects of interest in the order in which they attract

* L. ii. c. 15.

our attention, rather than that in which they succeed each other in the line above described.

The grandest extant remains of Greek masonry are the sixteen Corinthian columns of white marble on the left bank of the Ilissus, to the S.E. of the Acropolis, identified, to all appearance on unquestionable grounds, as those of the temple of Jupiter Olympius. The greater extent and better preservation of the ruins of the Parthenon, together with the late prejudice in favour of the primitive Doric order, the associations connected with the age of Pericles, and the brilliancy of its sculptured appendages, have all tended to give that edifice so powerful a hold on the sympathies of the classical tourist, as to absorb, in a great measure, the claims of all its rivals; and hence, while a page or two of rapturous enlargement on the sensations produced by a first approach to its porticos, is a customary appendage to every description of the wonders of Athens, these stupendous columns are frequently passed over with comparatively little notice. This circumstance may possibly have tended to enhance the effect of a first visit to them upon myself, which was at least equal to what I experienced in the case of the Parthenon; and may serve as an apology for dwelling on them somewhat more closely than were consistent with the general plan of this Journal in similar cases.

These are the largest columns of marble now standing in Europe, being 6½ feet in diameter, and upwards of sixty in height. The temple to which they belonged was the largest ever erected in Greece*—ever con-

* The temples of Diana at Ephesus, and of Apollo at Branchidæ, in Asia Minor, rather surpassed it in size. When complete, the Olympium, according to Stuart's measurements, had a double row of ten columns in each front, and of twenty on each side; which, with the four of each vestibule, give one hundred and twenty for the whole

structed in any part of the world of the Corinthian order, (the head corner-stone of the perfection of Greek architecture,)—or ever dedicated to the chief of the Hellenic pantheon. The desolation of the spot on which they stand, adds much to the effect of their tall majestic forms; and I scarcely know, in my own experience, any ruin calculated to excite stronger emotions of combined admiration and awe. An acquaintance, well qualified, both in point of taste and feeling, to draw such comparisons, and who arrived at Athens, direct from Egypt, nearly about the same period with myself, assured me that he had experienced the influence of such impressions more powerfully when standing beneath the columns of the Olympium, than among the most stupendous remains of Thebes or Dendera—a striking illustration of the superiority of form and proportion over mere enormity of mass.

It would seem indeed, that, in the estimation of the ancients, this edifice was considered superior in architectural splendour to any other temple of Athens, and second to none in Greece, with the exception, perhaps, of that of the Ephesian Diana. Its fame, accordingly, has been perpetuated by numerous authors of every age.* Commenced by Pisistratus in the infancy of elegant art, and finished by Hadrian in its old age, after numerous suspensions, interruptions, and alterations of plan, the work occupied a period of 700 years, hence called by Philostratus, "a great struggle with time."† These

exterior portico of the building. Its length was three hundred and fifty-four feet; its breadth one hundred and seventy-one. The peribolus, or outer court, which was also filled with smaller temples, statues, &c., was four stadia, or half-a-mile in circumference.—PAUSAN. *Att.* 18.

* See MEURSIUS. *Athen. Att.* ii. c. x.

† χρόνου μέγα ἀγώνισμα.

remains acquire an additional interest from the circumstance, that the temple to which they belong should have been originally planned, and it would appear in all the extent and magnitude, if not in the style and proportions of its subsequent execution, by Pisistratus, a prince who, (whatever his political delinquency,) as the first great encourager of learning, and every kind of elegant pursuit in his native city, may be considered as the founder of her future superiority to her neighbours in the arts of civilized life. The work was continued by his sons; but remained in the same unfinished state in which it was left by them for near four hundred years; that is, throughout the whole flourishing age of Attic power, wealth, and art. It seems strange that, during this period, no anxiety whatever should have been displayed for the final consecration of an entire sanctuary to the chief Hellenic deity, amid the immense sums expended on other public buildings. Superstitious motives alone would have been sufficient, one might suppose, to secure to Jupiter his proper share in the distribution of these treasures. Possibly it was thought that amends were made by the amount of those lavished on his favourite daughter; or the prejudice against the Pisistratidæ may have operated against the prosecution of their unfinished monuments; although no allusion occurs in any writer to such a motive for the suspension of the work.

To what extent the masonry had been carried by "the tyrants," or of what material it then consisted, does not appear. Although there can be little doubt that the building was at all times partially used as a sanctuary, yet the assertion of those writers who record its completion by Hadrian, that this emperor first dedicated the statue of the deity, would imply that even the cell was not previously in such a state as to make it a fit recep-

tacle for so sacred an object.* Lucian,† also, in a passage apparently allusive to this edifice, seems to hint that the rites of Jove were during a long period neglected by the Athenians. Strabo ‡ describes it as having been left half finished by the tyrant; and Dicæarchus, § who visited Athens prior to any renewal of the work, speaks of it as a building, which, though incomplete, was yet in such a state of advancement as to excite astonishment and admiration by the splendour of its plan. Aristotle, ‖ at a still earlier period, classes its fragments among the colossal undertakings of despotic governments, in the same category with the pyramids of Egypt; and with Livy,¶ Vitruvius,** Plutarch,†† and other writers, it affords similar theme for hyperbolical eulogy. These testimonies imply that the Olympium had suffered little or nothing from the Persian invasion. There is, indeed, every reason to believe that the ravages of Xerxes were confined solely or chiefly to edifices susceptible of the effects of fire, as was probably the case with most of the principal monuments of Athens at that period. It may therefore be assumed, that the work of the Pisistratidæ had not been carried beyond the solid masses of masonry,

* Chandler and others state, on the authority of Suetonius, (*Calig.* 22,) that the Emperor Caligula transported the statue of the god from this temple to Rome, and taking off its head, placed his own on its shoulders. This is a mistake. The statue alluded to was not that of the Athenian but of the Pisan Olympium. Nor does Suetonius describe the outrage as having been carried into effect. That it never was—apart from the testimony of Pausanius, who found the statue in its place at a much later period—we know from Dion Cassius (ix. c. 28) and Josephus (xix. 1,) who give the whole story in detail, describing the manner in which the emperor's Vandalic schemes were frustrated.

† *Icaromenipp.* § 23.

‡ Lib. ix. c. 1.

§ *De Stat. Gr.* p. 8. Ed. Huds.

‖ *Polit.* v. c. 11.

¶ xli. 20.

** *Præf. ad lib.* vii.

†† *In Solon.* ch. xxxii.

which the enemy would hardly be at the trouble of demolishing, especially in an unfinished building.

On the decline of Athens, the zeal of foreign patrons of art led them to vie for the honour of completing this her greatest and noblest monument, which her own citizens during their days of prosperity had so strangely neglected. The project was first taken up by Antiochus Epiphanes.* The order preferred by him was the Corinthian, which was adhered to in the subsequent prosecution of the work. Ten years afterwards, the undertaking was again interrupted by the death of its promoter; and after another seventy years' interval of neglect, it was robbed of some of its columns by Sylla, who transported them to Rome for the service of the temple of the same deity in the Capitol.† In the reign of Augustus,‡ a society of princes, allies or dependants of the Roman empire, undertook to continue it at their joint expense. But the work was beyond their resources, and the honour of its completion was reserved for Hadrian; an honour to which his love of Greece and of the arts perhaps more justly entitled him than any other sovereign of *barbarous* origin.

The splendour of the edifice completed by this em-

* Vitruv. *Præf. Lib.* vii.—This author states that the work was entrusted by Antiochus to a Roman architect of the name of Cossutius; which seems strange, considering that the Romans were for long after this period in a comparative state of barbarism in respect to every branch of fine art, and dependant on Greek professors for the decoration of their own city. The Cossutian family were also of high patrician rank, which renders it the less credible that one of its members should have deigned to enter the service of a foreign prince, in what was then considered so degrading a capacity. Probably this architect was a Greek, who, like Ennius and others of that period, had been honoured with the patronage and name of some noble Roman.

† Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xxxvi. 6. ‡ Sueton. *in Vit.* c. lx.

peror, on the plan of artists of a better period, contrasts, curiously enough, with the poverty of the original monuments of his architectural munificence still extant at Athens, more particularly of the arch that bears his name in the immediate neighbourhood. This paltry structure, as its inscription* informs us, gave access to the quarter of Athens containing the Olympium, and claimed by him as his own city, from his services in extending or adorning it. The style of this arch is indeed so unworthy of the real enlargement of taste which Hadrian is acknowledged to have displayed in the fine arts, as to warrant the suspicion that it may be a work erected in his honour by the Athenian municipality, or by some other class of admirers or flatterers, rather than by himself.

To the S. E. of the columns of the Olympium, is still visible a portion of the stone substruction of its peribolus. From this point there is a slope to the bed of the Ilissus, where are vestiges of the ancient fountain Callirrhoe or Enneacrunus, another work of the munificent Pisistratidæ.† Its structure, of which I had never been able to form any distinct notion from descriptions, is sufficiently evident on ocular inspection, and is somewhat curious. The name Callirrhoe properly belonged to the spring or source, that of Enneacrunus to the Fountain in the architectural sense of the term. The waters took their rise between the Ilissus and the Olympium, and were conducted by artificial means into the bed of the stream, just where it extends over a broad ledge of rocks terminating in a cliff of no great height. Here they were made to pass into small channels or pipes pierced in the rock, with orifices in the face of the cliff, whence they issued into the pool below. Although the more classic

* See additional note at the end of the volume.

† Thucyd. ii. 15. Pausan. *Att.* xiv.

term Enneacrunus specifies these pipes to have been but nine, they are sometimes alluded to as amounting to twelve; hence the fountain itself was sometimes also called Dodecacrunus. Of these orifices I counted seven; more might probably be detected by closer examination of the face of the cliff. From this arrangement of the pipes it may be inferred, that any little moisture the bed of the Ilissus occasionally afforded, was also made available for the supply of the fountain. Its purity, however, could hardly fail to be disturbed by the waters of the stream when in a swollen state. This is also implied in a passage of the comic poet Cratinus,* who compares a violent tirade of words to the "Dodecacrunus with Ilissus itself rushing in its channel." The Callirrhoe was represented, at the period of my visit, by a small puddle of stagnant water at the foot of the cliff.

The bed of the river is now perfectly dry, unless when filled by heavy rains; nor in spite of the allusions of poets, ancient and modern, to "Ilissus' whispering stream," does it ever appear to have been much better supplied. Strabo,† a more matter-of-fact authority, describes both Cephissus and Ilissus as torrents, the waters of which failed entirely in summer. As regards, however, the celebrated passage of Plato,‡ from which, and, I believe it may be said, from which alone, we have any plausible ground to infer that the Ilissus was a perennial stream, perhaps somewhat more weight has been attached to it than it deserves. All that Socrates is there made to say is, that at the season and hour of his walk, it offered a limpid stream very refreshing to persons strolling on its banks in the heat of the day. The same might perhaps

* *Apud* Suid. v. δωδεκάκρουνος.

† Ed. Falcon. p. 581.

‡ Phædr. c. 3.

be said by an Athenian of the present generation in the course of any summer, after a few heavy thunder showers in the neighbouring hills.*

* The apology offered by Chandler for the present dry state of the river, that it is now deprived of the waste water of the fountain, will not hold good; for the place of meeting between Socrates and his pupil, where he praises its limpid stream, was three stadia, or nearly half a mile above the temple of Diana Agræa, which was itself above the sources of the Callirrhoe.

CHAPTER XXX.

STADIUM—HIPPODROME—THEATRE OF HERODES—MONUMENT OF LYSICRATES—TOWER OF ANDRONICUS—REMARKS ON ANCIENT AND MODERN HOUSES, AND HOUSE ACCOMMODATION.

ἀλλὰ γὰρ εἰς πλῆθος ἐμπίπτων τῶν περὶ τῆς πόλεως ταύτης ὑμνουμένων καὶ διαβοωμένων, ὀκνῶ πλεονάζειν, μὴ συμβῇ τὴς προθέσεως ἐκπεσεῖν τὴν γραφήν.—STRAB. ix. c. 1.

"But I must make short in my description of this city, lest, bewildered by the number and celebrity of its objects of interest, I should be distracted from the original purpose of my narrative."

STADIUM AND HIPPODROME.

On the opposite bank of the Ilissus, a little further up its course, is the Panathenaic stadium. Its present appearance is probably not very dissimilar to what it originally presented before being fitted up for gymnastic purposes. It is now but a narrow valley or recess in a ridge of rocky swells, once perhaps the bed of a petty tributary to the river. During the flourishing ages of the republic, it would seem that the only assistance nature derived from art, in the further adaptation of the locality to its destined object, consisted in the levelling of the arena—the construction of the necessary apparatus for goal and boundaries—and the arrangement of turf-seats for the spectators on the side of the slope; with perhaps a parapet of more solid material for their support.

It is somewhat remarkable that the Greeks, who, while comparatively indifferent to display or luxury in

their domestic accommodation, prided themselves on the splendour of their public structures, should have remained during the most glorious period of their history so careless, not merely of ornament, but even of solidity and convenience, in those of a class so essentially linked with their whole political and religious system, as their Stadia and Hippodromes. Even the more important of the services above enumerated, are said to have been first rendered to the Attic stadium by the orator Lycurgus, in the 105 Olympiad, about 350 years B. C.* It was not till near 500 years afterwards, at a late period of the Roman empire, that Herodes Atticus adorned it, in common with the stadium of Delphi, with the coating of white marble which called forth the admiration of Pausanias.† The same author‡ describes the stadium of the Isthmus, at the epoch of his visit, as similarly decorated; but with these exceptions, the structures of this class throughout Greece, as he himself informs us,‖ inclusive of those of the distinguished sanctuaries of Olympia§ and Epidaurus, were mere banks of earth. From the greater size or extent of the Greek Hippodrome, it

* Plut. *de decem oratt. in Vita.*—Some have even gone the length of interpreting this text as intimating that an Attic stadium was first established by Lycurgus. But its terms seem merely to imply the improvements made by him on a more rude locality. Dr Wordsworth, [*Athens*, &c. note to p. 158,] in rejecting this inaccurate sense of the passage, urges, as an additional argument against the views of those who adopt it, that "Sophocles, in his *Electra*, [707, *seq.*] would never have made an Athenian charioteer victor over nine competitors at Delphi, had Athens not possessed a stadium in his time." Here there is a misunderstanding. The chariot race was run in the Hippodrome, not the Stadium; which, neither in point of size nor arrangement, was adapted to the purpose. The Stadium was used for the foot race, and perhaps some other gymnastic exercises. Athens, however, as may be seen by reference to the sequel of our text, had a Hippodrome (and *a fortiori* a Stadium) long before the time of Lycurgus.

† Paus. *Phoc.* c. xxxii.

‡ *Corinth*, c. xxvii.

‖ Pausan. *ibid.*

§ Pausan. *Eliac.* ii. c. xx.

was hardly to be expected that even equal care should have been bestowed on its architectural embellishment; and accordingly none of them, not even that of Olympia,* appear to have been any thing more than earthen embankments, with the exception, perhaps, of the portion allotted to the accommodation of persons of distinction, which at Olympia was adorned with colonnades. The Hippodrome of Athens was not, it may be presumed, of any better structure than ordinary. It is passed over unnoticed in the ancient descriptions of the city, and has left no remains sufficient to attract the notice of the modern traveller. Nor is the existence of such a monument so much as alluded to in any of our standard treatises on Attic topography. It is certain, however, that Athens possessed a Hippodrome, at least as early as the days of Xenophon,† if not of Solon.‡ It was situated at a sandy place called Enechelido,§ on the low marshy ground between the Museum and the Piræus,‖ where its vestiges may perhaps still be found, if carefully sought for, by those who have more time or diligence for the purpose than myself. There was also one at Thebes,¶ and doubtless in the neighbourhood of every considerable Greek city. Apart from the popular ceremonies of which they were occasionally the scene, such places were necessary for the practice of the cavalry, and of the combatants in the great national games. They seem to have been little more than exercising grounds, levelled and fenced off in such a manner as to prevent the horses from bolting. Hence they are never mentioned other-

* Pausan. *loc. cit.*

† *De Magist. Equ.* iii. 3, 10. *Cf.* Demosth. *in Everg.* p. 1155, 1162. Ed. Reiske.

‡ Plutarch. *in Vit.* c. 19.

§ *Etym.* M. Hesych. *et* Steph. Byzant. in v. Ἐνεχελιδώ.

‖ Xenoph. *Mem.* iii. 3, 6.

¶ Pausan. *Bœot.* xxiii.

wise than incidentally in the notices of Grecian monuments preserved by Pausanias and other writers. The association of heroic simplicity and martial hardihood with gymnastic exercises, may, in the better days of Greece, have tended to prevent a more sumptuous decoration of the localities set apart for their performance. With the Romans the case was different; the circus being one of the first edifices which they were at pains to fit up and adorn at any expense.

THEATRE OF HERODES ATTICUS.

The remains of the theatre of Herodes Atticus, otherwise called the Odeum of Regilla, at the S. W. base of the Acropolis, in spite of their extent, good preservation, and the massive material of which they are composed, have a poor appearance, owing to the defects of the Roman style of architecture, especially of the rows of small and apparently useless arches, with which the more solid portions of the masonry are perforated, and the consequent number of insignificant parts into which it is thus subdivided. To such an excess is this defect carried in the present case, that but for other evidence to the contrary, one were tempted to pronounce this theatre a structure of the Byzantine age, rather than of a still flourishing period of Roman art.

This building and the arch of Hadrian seem to have been preserved as living witnesses of the inferiority of the architectural taste of Rome to that of Greece. The difference, indeed, is no less strikingly illustrated by a comparison of the leading extant edifices of the two cities, than of those which Athens herself contains of the respective periods; of the Propylæa, for example—the tower of Andronicus—the choragic monuments, with the

Coliseum—the Baths—the triumphal arches. The characteristics of the former class are solidity and simplicity, with elegance and aptitude for their purpose. In the latter the chief apparent object is to enclose the widest extent of space, often with the poorest description of material, and to afford the greatest distraction to the eye by an accumulation of subordinate parts, a varied surface, or a broken outline. Subservient to these objects was the great partiality of the Romans for the use of the arch, with which the Greeks were familiar from the remotest antiquity, but which, for reasons inherent in the fundamental principles of their art, they rarely employed during their best period, unless in cases of actual necessity. These respective characteristics of the two schools are the more interesting, as reflecting the corresponding varieties of social character in the nations themselves—the simplicity and frugality of even the more luxurious age of Greece, as contrasted with the wild ostentation and extravagance of that of Rome.

CHORAGIC MONUMENT OF LYSICRATES.

Of the great Dionysiac theatre at the opposite or south-eastern extremity of the Acropolis, there are unfortunately no remains sufficient to enable us to compare the genuine Attic taste in such structures with that of Herodes Atticus. Little more than the site is now to be recognised, by the form of the ground. Hard by stands the elegant little trophy of the victory of Lysicrates on its stage.* Diminutive as it is, it has weathered the ravages of the late war as well as its more ponderous

* This monument has been imitated in the pavilion on the roof of a chapel in Lower Regent Street, London, and in the monuments of Burns near Ayr and on the Calton Hill of Edinburgh.

neighbours. There is indeed nothing which conveys a more distinct idea of the excellence of the ancient masonry, than the almost complete state of preservation in which we still find every fragment that existed at the commencement of the revolution, amid the total and often reiterated ruin of the surrounding modern edifices with which they were in many cases connected as integral parts, and in common with which they have been exposed to all the recent vicissitudes of fire, battery, bombardment, and wilful dilapidation. Yet there they stand, both at Athens and elsewhere, each in its place, fresh and entire, as drawn by the last generation of travellers. I scarcely think I missed a single ruin, or even a single stone, noted by either Dodwell, Gell, or Leake, on our line of route, with the exception of such as have been carried off by antiquarian plunderers. During the various sieges of Athens, at least 6000 cannon shot or shells were aimed at the Acropolis; yet, by a strange enough fatality, the only very serious damage its buildings sustained, the fall of the porch of the Erechtheum, was caused, not by the shot, but by the precautions taken by Gouras, the chief of the garrison, to render it harmless. Having selected this edifice as his own quarters, he attempted to render it bomb-proof, by heaping earth on its roof, which, after his own death, sinking beneath the weight, buried under its ruins his widow, so distinguished for her beauty and virtue, together with some of the principal ladies of Athens, who had sought the same place of refuge during the bombardment. In a large number of cases, indeed, the desolation of the war has been, in so far, beneficial to the present race of antiquaries, by disencumbering ancient relics of the Turco-Greek habitations under which they were concealed. The successive sacks and sieges have here performed the same service, in stripping them of these unseemly appendages, as the aquafortis in

cleansing the surface of a gem or vase from the filth with which it had been encrusted in its subterranean abode. Among the more pointed illustrations of these remarks may be quoted, in addition to this elegant monument, which, from its diminutive size, tended more immediately to suggest them, the neighbouring tower of Andronicus Cyrrhestes, and the Doric temple of Corinth. By reference to the old drawings of these remains, it will be seen that, previous to the war, both were in a great measure encased in modern masonry. Both now stand in the centre of a considerable extent of free space.

TOWER OF ANDRONICUS CYRRHESTES.

This tower, vulgarly called also the Temple of the Winds, although not without its celebrity among the ancients, is perhaps the extant edifice of the old Attic period least calculated to exalt our modern ideas of the architectural splendour of the Greek cities. It is described as having been both the public clock and the weathercock of Athens. Such a building, unless placed in a very commanding situation, may naturally be assumed to have been so superior in height to the surrounding structures, as to be, if not visible from any great distance, at least a conspicuous object in its own immediate neighbourhood. But this edifice stands on the lower part of the site of the ancient city, with no apparent vantage ground, even as regards the contiguous level; while its actual height from the foundation is but forty-four feet, which, with a reasonable allowance for the Triton that formerly acted the part of vane on its summit, would make its whole elevation little more than fifty feet. As therefore, for the reasons above given, this tower must be supposed to have been one of the highest build-

ings of the quarter in which it was situated, it supplies a practical proof of what indeed might have been inferred from other general evidence, that loftiness of elevation was the property of which the structures of ancient Hellas, whether public or private, had least reason to boast.

The private dwellings of the Greeks consisted at the most of but one story above the ground floor, devoted solely or chiefly to the sleeping accommodation. All display of architectural luxury or magnificence; their vestibules, saloons, and reception-halls, with the principal family apartments, were on the level of the street, ranged around a succession of open courts, partly fitted up as halls or porticos, partly perhaps as flower gardens or pleasure grounds; which rendered each of the higher class of private houses a small self-contained country villa. Hence the staircase formed no part of the decorative architecture of the building, being little or nothing more than a convenient passage to the Hyperoon or garret. Their temples, as we know from extant examples, even those of the greatest splendour, rarely equalled in height an ordinary dwelling-house in any modern European capital. They had no lofty steeples, domes, obelisks, or even monumental columns, at least in their best days, to make a show at a great distance; and of the height of their towers, even where height was connected with utility, this monument of Andronicus may not unfairly be taken as a sample. The colossal statue of Minerva Promachus, on the summit of the Acropolis, seems alone among the Athenian works of art to have attracted the eye from afar by its surpassing altitude.

This peculiarity tends, no doubt, much to detract from the estimate we moderns may be disposed to form, either of the architectural grandeur or the picturesque effect of the cities of ancient Greece, as compared with the high

square towers, lofty domes, and broad masses of masonry, which vary the outline of the more elegant European towns of the present day, those of Italy more especially. It must, however, be remembered that variety, rather than mere height, is the attribute of those combinations which conduce to the beauty of landscape composition; and in this respect we have no reason to suppose the outline of the Greek cities to have been deficient; while the grace by which their edifices were individually characterized, the predominance of open colonnades, and of horizontal and perpendicular lines, in which the architectural picturesque mainly consists, as contrasting with the undulations of the landscape, might have more than compensated the want of loftiness. It is indeed very questionable whether the excessive height to which our towers and domes project, can in itself be considered as a beauty in landscape composition; nor has it been so, if we may trust their extant works, by any of the standard-modern masters of the art.

The habits of the Romans, in respect to the structure and arrangement both of their domestic and public edifices, corresponded in their earlier days to those of the Greeks. The best houses of Pompeii have at the most but one upper story, which is little better than a garret; and many consist but of a ground floor. In later times, however, the case was different; and the remote cause of the change that has since taken place in this department of manners throughout civilized Europe, may perhaps be traced back to the excess of pomp and luxury in the days of Roman corruption, and to the overgrowth of population in the Italian towns. The ancients, in their comparison of the size of Rome with that of Athens* and other cities, dwell especially on the great height of its houses, many of which are specified as consisting of three

* Lipsius, *de Magnit. urbis Romæ*, L. iii. c. 4.

or four stories. These were chiefly the dwellings of the middle and lower classes, crowded into this focus of European population, where each family occupied separate floors one above another, as is still customary in the towns of every part of Europe, with the exception perhaps of England. It is probable that at this period the palaces of the great men of the city were less elevated, and that their principal suites of apartments were on the level of the street. Yet there can be little doubt that it is to this excessive accumulation of stories one above another, and the consequent exclusion of air and light from the lower part of the street, that we are to attribute the revolution which has since taken place in the habits even of the upper classes throughout Italy and the greater part of Europe, by whom it is now considered undignified to occupy the ground-floor. This portion of the building is consequently set apart chiefly or solely for the shops and dwellings of the lower orders, or, in the houses of the great, for servants' accommodation, stables, coach-house, magazines, &c. Hence the staircase, of which one hears so little among the ancients, and to which Vitruvius alludes but incidentally, and with mere reference to its mechanical structure, is now become an important element of architectural splendour. In proportion as the arrangement of a modern house appears to us essential to comfort, it would probably have been distasteful to an Athenian. To one habituated to the freedom of air and space, of sun or shade, provided for by the halls, porticos, and terraces, which formed the principal apartments of their dwellings, the inconvenience of mounting a stair, and the gloom and confinement to which it led, would have appeared intolerable. Hence too the custom, now universal, for the purpose of imparting cheerfulness to the principal rooms of a modern town residence, of making their windows face the street; and a favourite

amusement of the idle hours of its inmates is looking at what is passing below; an additional motive of preference for the second floor, as commanding a better prospect, and, at the same time, further removed from the noise, publicity, and other inconveniences arising from a too immediate contact with the public thoroughfare. A Greek house of distinction, on the other hand, was entirely shut out from all connexion with the public, beyond that afforded by the door of entry to the premises. The front towards the street was probably but a curtain wall, relieved by a porch or some other variety of architectural ornament; as we still see exemplified in the principal palaces of Pompeii. The publicity of life, which the habits and duties of an Hellenic citizen imposed upon him as regards the state, was such as to leave no desire for its extension to the interior of his dwelling. When done with the Pnyx, the Agora, the Stoa, or the Gymnasium, he was glad to enjoy unmolested the seclusion of his own social or domestic circle.

There can, however, be no doubt, that the Greeks even of the wealthier classes, and during the best period of their history, were, in comparison with their proud neighbours and conquerors to the westward, but very indifferently lodged. We hear of no sumptuous town mansions or country villas among the Athenians, that could compete with those of the Roman nobility from the later ages of the republic downwards. Dicæarchus* describes the private dwellings of Athens as so mean, that to judge from them, apart from the public edifices, no one on entering the gates could imagine himself to be in so celebrated a city. What Horace said of the primitive worthies of his own country, will apply with still greater justice to the Greeks during their most flourishing period:

* *De Stat. Gr.* p. 8. Ed. Oxf.

"Privatus illis census erat brevis,
Commune magnum."

The modest simplicity of their domestic accommodation was honourably counterbalanced by the splendour of their national monuments. *

* The remaining doubtful, or less interesting ruins—the gate of the Forum—Gymnasium of Ptolemy—Stoa of Hadrian, &c., here require no comment in addition to those of which they have so often been the subject, and the substance of which will be found in any of the popular guide-books which it is to be presumed already abound in Athens, as in every other European metropolis.

CHAPTER XXXI.

EXCURSION TO MARATHON—M. DE RUDHART—HIS ADVENTURE ON MOUNT PENTELICUS AND DEATH—ANCIENT GREEK FIELD TACTICS —PENTELIC QUARRIES—KING OTHO AND HIS QUEEN.

On the forenoon of Saturday the 17th, calling by appointment at the Austrian legation, for the purpose of renewing an interrupted walk of the day before with its hospitable chief, I found that, on the early part of that morning, arrangements had been made for an excursion on the day following to Marathon, Thebes, and back by Platæa to Athens; and that I was included in the party, should my other engagements permit. As regards the former place, the proposal was joyfully accepted: the further extension of the tour into Bœotia did not, of course, suit my plans.

This project, it appears, had originated in the unexpected arrival at Athens, that morning, of Monsieur de Rudhart, ex-prime minister of King Otho, and whose name had lately occupied so prominent a place in the European gazettes, in consequence of his political differences with our own worthy minister, Sir Edmund Lyons. It is scarcely necessary to mention that the result had been his retirement from office, and he had since been engaged in a tour in the Levant, before finally returning to Munich. He was now on his route homewards, and was anxious to devote the few days at his disposal to an excursion, in the capacity of a private tourist, through this interesting region, which, owing to the pressure of

public affairs, he had been unable to visit during the period of his official career.

There are four roads of access from the plain of Athens to that of Marathon.* The most northerly enters the centre of the latter district near the modern village of the same name. The next to the southward, at the convent of Vraná, situated at the northern base of Pentelicus.† The third leads over the higher ridge of that mountain, to the east of its summit, passing close to the marble quarries, and enters the plain between the sea and Vraná.‡ The fourth, and most level, passing through the valley between Pentelicus and Hymettus, follows the shore for the rest of the distance.

It was arranged that our party should proceed in two divisions. M. de Rudhart preferred the track over the mountain, purposing to halt a few hours to examine the marble quarries, and descend upon Marathon in the afternoon. His detachment comprised himself and four ladies, his wife, sister, and two sisters-in-law. Owing to the length of time their journey was likely to occupy, their departure was fixed for the first dawn of morning. The other division consisted of Monsieur and Madame de Prokesch; the Austrian secretary of legation; the Bavarian minister, and his lady; Dr Ross, whose professional avocations only permitted of his accompanying us halfway; his brother, a young landscape painter, and myself.

We started soon after sunrise by the direct road for Vraná, where all the accommodation the convent afforded had been secured for the night. The first half of the

* See Sketch, *infra*, p. 108.

† These two lines branch off from the same point, about two hours' ride before their respective entries into the plain.

‡ The situation of the ancient *demus* of Marathon is doubtful; some place it at Vraná; others, in deference to the existing correspondence of names, at Marathona itself.

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road, being the same which leads to the Pentelic quarries, is practicable for carriages; and the ambassador's equipages accordingly conveyed us as far as Kiphisía, where the horses and baggage were to be in waiting, with the guides, guards, servants, &c. The muster took place under a large platanus tree in the centre of this pretty village, which still retains the name of the ancient Demus it represents. It is the most thriving and cleanly in appearance that I saw in Greece, embedded in gardens, and with well built, and for the most part whitewashed cottages. The party, including guards and retainers of all kinds, may have amounted to about a score—and our cavalcade, by its varieties of character and costume, reminded one strongly, amid many broad points of difference, of Stoddart's picture of the pilgrimage to Canterbury. The road from Kiphisía lay chiefly over rugged heaths, interspersed with patches of cultivated ground, or through open forest glades, covered with numerous varieties of beautiful shrubs—arbutus, oleander, myrtle—rather than with wood. Here and there we passed small clusters of ruins, originally, no doubt, those of Attic Demi, but for the most part so blended with lower Greek structures, as to present few or no distinct remains of genuine Hellenic antiquity. On gaining the summit of the rocky ridge connecting Pentelicus with the lower ranges of mountain to the westward, there opens up one of the finest prospects in Greece. The foreground is a deep wooded ravine extending to the plain, at the foot of which the convent is situated. On each side rise the mountains in precipitous masses of rock, covered with straggling pine forest, or with evergreen copse, and terminating in bold projecting peaks. Below, the eye stretches over the green expanse of level plain, so well described by Aristophanes* as the "pleasant mead of

* λειμῶνα τὸν ἐρόεντα Μαραθῶνος.—*Aves*, 246.

Marathon"—in the midst of which the tumulus of the Athenians is the most conspicuous object—backed by the sea, and by a small sickle-formed cape, which jutting with a graceful sweep into the channel, supplies the Marathonian port. The prospect is bounded by the lofty mountain ridges of Eubœa, and the contiguous island of Andros.

The convent of Vraná is situated in a small recess of the plain immediately below the steepest part of Pentelicus. It comprises a considerable range of buildings, apparently quite unoccupied, and presenting a desolate enough appearance. The accommodation for the party was on an upper floor, and consisted of a large dreary hall or gallery, with three small cells contiguous, all opening on the wooden staircase and balcony by which they were approached. The smaller apartments were allotted to the married couples—the hall served as a common dormitory for the remaining male members of the party. All were without windows or furniture, and the common hall was without a door. The whole had, however, the advantage of being comparatively free from vermin, the chief bane of all comfort in these halting-places, not having apparently been inhabited for some time past unless by fowls, wild or domestic.

After arranging our quarters we proceeded to the tumulus, which we reached about two o'clock. This had been agreed upon as the point of rendezvous with the party from the quarries, upon whose arrival we had calculated an hour or two after our own, as their road, though more mountainous, was not longer than ours. We remained several hours in the neighbourhood of the monument, and amused ourselves for some time in picking up the small pieces of dark-coloured flint that abound on its surface, vulgarly supposed to be fragments of the Persian arrow-heads. The ladies now grew tired of

waiting for their companions, and returned to the convent. The gentlemen of the party, after riding across the plain in different directions, and examining such objects of curiosity as it offers, once more returned to the tumulus, where we waited another hour; but still no appearance of the Rudharts. Night now began to close in, and the melancholy cry of the jackalls to be heard on the mountain side. We now also took our way back to Vraná, confidently expecting that, owing to the lateness of their arrival, or the fatigue of their journey, the mountain party had proceeded at once to their quarters for the night, and that we should find them safely housed in the convent. In this, however, we were disappointed. We waited supper for them another hour, but in vain. The matter now became serious, and anxiety for the fate of their absent friends tended not a little to mar the conviviality of the circle round the well spread board, supplied from the household of the diplomatic heads of our expedition; for my invitation to join it had been coupled with the condition that I should consider myself as their guest, and all picnickery was strictly prohibited. Gendarmes and peasants were sent in different directions to explore the various paths leading across the mountain, but returned at intervals, each with the same report of the bad success of their mission. The case was therefore given up as hopeless for the night, and all retired to rest, trusting that the mystery would be cleared up in some satisfactory manner in the course of the following morning.

These hopes were in so far realized, that, about seven or eight o'clock, the hallooing of the peasants stationed on the look-out announced the discovery of the party on the upper ridge of the mountain; and soon after they appeared in view, scrambling down a scarce practicable zigzag track among the rocks. They arrived in miserable plight, wan and haggard with fatigue and want of

sleep, covered with dust and mud, their clothes torn to tatters, and their faces and hands scratched by the brambles and branches of the forest.

Owing partly to their having lingered too long at the quarries, partly to the ignorance and mismanagement of the guides, they lost their way, and were benighted when scarcely through one-half of the second stage of their journey. Whilst wandering up and down the mountain, in their vain attempts to discover some direct path of descent to the plain, they parted company with their baggage-train, and, by consequence, with all their provisions, warm clothes, and bedding. The night was far from mild, with a fresh north wind even on the plain below, as we ourselves had experienced in our open dormitory; and on the top of the mountain it blew a storm. As the midday sun at this season in Greece is as powerful as that of July in our climate, the ladies were equipped in little better than light summer dresses; and in this state they were obliged to halt for the night, fasting and shivering, and avail themselves of such shelter from the blast as the foliage of the forest supplied. To ensure what little comfort was possible in such a predicament, wood was gathered, and a fire lighted. The sparks communicated the flames to the neighbouring trees; and what with the drought of the season, the force of the wind, and the combustible nature of the pine timber, an extensive conflagration ensued, which again forced them to shift their wretched bivouac to another part of the hill. This episode of the tragedy caused much entertainment to the gossips of Athens;—as, among the beneficial laws introduced and strenuously enforced by M. de Rudhart while in power, was one for the better preservation of the forests, with heavy penalties against all wanton destruction or mutilation of the trees.

The four ladies, however distressed and dispirited, bore their misfortunes with great philosophy; and the ex-premier, a man of lively, animated manner, although in a state of evident excitement, seemed also well satisfied, upon the whole, that so disagreeable an adventure had ended so well. It was natural to feel apprehensive for the consequences to a party of ladies, some of them of rather delicate appearance; but neither he, probably, nor any one else, anticipated that it was to be, even indirectly, productive of such fatal results to himself. His voyage north preceded my own by a week or ten days; and while I was still detained in quarantine at Ancona, a report arrived that M. de Rudhart had died in the lazaretto of Trieste. This account proved incorrect; but it merely anticipated the truth: for he was at the time dangerously ill, and on being released from quarantine, he lingered and expired at a lodging in the town, a few weeks afterwards. The remote cause of his death, as I subsequently learned from his friends at Munich, was the adventure of this night. He was evidently a man of a very excitable temperament; and the bodily fatigue and exposure, added to mental irritation, brought on a feverish cold, which ultimately ripened into the illness that carried him off.

M. de Rudhart's political abilities were held in high estimation at Munich, where he seemed also to enjoy general popularity and respect. He was not a person of birth, and was indebted to his own exertions for his success in life; nor did his personal appearance belie his origin, bespeaking rather the substantial merchant or tradesman than the prime minister; but a quick eye and animated style of conversation gave earnest of considerable talent. His first introduction to public life was as a member of the Bavarian chamber of representatives, where he distinguished himself as a debater on

the popular side during the short-lived reign of constitutional liberty, or rather of zeal for its establishment, in his native country. His ultra-liberal principles, by one of those political paradoxes common even in other countries, where liberty is a more thriving plant than in Germany, were the source of his courtly dignities. It was chiefly for the purpose of disembarrassing themselves of his interference with their well-directed and successful attempts to stifle the chartered constitution in its infancy, that he was promoted by the Bavarian rulers to place and honour, and finally sent out as successor to Count Armansperg in the presidency of the cabinet of Greece, where he appeared as the steady and uncompromising assertor of monarchical privilege. A few weeks before his death, he had been named plenipotentiary to the court of King Otho. This appointment, while it evinced the satisfaction of his government with the conduct that had led to his late retirement from office, was as flattering to himself, as it was little complimentary to our own minister at Athens, or the court he represented.

As the road I had selected for my return was the same which had been the scene of the late disastrous adventure, and as I was anxious to avoid all risk of similar mishap, at an early hour after the arrival of the benighted party, I was under the necessity of bidding—I regret to say, a final—farewell to my kind friends; for my own departure from Athens preceded their return from their excursion.

The plain of Marathon, which is about six miles long, and half that breadth in the broadest part, presents somewhat the form of a half-moon, the inner curve of which is bounded by the bay, the outer by the range of mountains extending from the maritime base of Pentelicus to the Cape of Cynosura. Within this cape, at the

north-eastern extremity of the crescent, is a marsh, with a few low pine woods towards the sea. The other extremity gives entrance to the pass between Pentelicus and the sea, forming the most easterly of the four roads already described as leading from Athens to the plain. Upon this corner of the plain, which is also marshy, are extensive foundations, apparently of temples or villas. Here may possibly have been the sanctuary of Minerva Hellotia, already a favourite shrine of the goddess in the days of Homer.* In some stagnant pools among the ruins, are several fragments of marble statues, columns, &c. Through the centre of the plain runs the bed of the brook, now called Marathona, (anciently Asopus,) on the banks of which, a little way up the valley from whence it issues, is situated the village of the same name.

In regard to the plan of the battle, all that can with tolerable certainty be assumed is, that the Athenians must have been drawn up at the extremity of the plain nearest to Athens, in order to defend the roads of access to the city.† The existing lofty tumulus, therefore, identifies the point of collision between the two armies more satisfactorily than any learned investigations are ever likely to do. We have no certain knowledge of the etiquette followed by the Greeks in the erection of their *polyandria*, or common sepulchres. The probability is, that the spot here selected would be either that where the greatest loss was sustained, or where the

* *Odyss.* vii. 80.

† Perhaps the most plausible of the attempts to identify more closely the scene of action, is that of Mr Finlay, who maintains that the engagement must have been fought at the south-west corner of the plain, opposite the maritime road to the city, as the only one practicable for the cavalry on which the Persians placed so great reliance. This route, therefore, it would be the chief object of the enemy to force, of the Greeks to defend.—Transactions of R. S. L., vol. iii. pt. ii. p. 363, *seq.*

PLAIN and BAY of MARATHON.

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J. Nash, del. & Lithog.

general or principal warrior fell. In the former case, it would mark the centre of the Greek line; in the latter, the position of the left wing, where the polemarch Callimachus, who was slain in the action, commanded.*

There are several curious details in the narrative of Herodotus, which have, perhaps, obtained less attention than they deserve, either as illustrative of the conduct of this battle, or of the military tactics of the age. The Athenians are described as having weakened their centre, for the twofold purpose of extending their line, and of increasing the weight of their flanks, upon whose success they evidently rested their hopes of victory. This is a stratagem as contrary to our notions of the art of war, as it seems in itself bold and singular. One of the standard principles of tactics in the pitched battles of our own day is, that the strength of a line consists mainly in that of its centre, as the rallying point of the whole; and hence the favourite manœuvre of a bold and dexterous commander is, to break through this point, and defeat the divisions of the enemy in detail. It is to this manœuvre, that on all occasions small bodies of well-trained warriors have chiefly to trust, in opposing the tumultuous attacks of undisciplined troops. By it the British fleets have, for the greater part of a century, defeated those of every enemy. By it the armies of Napoleon gained most of their victories; and it was mainly by an adherence to a similar line of tactics on the part of our own generals, that he never was successful against them, but was invariably defeated, as it were, by his own weapons. An opposite plan was, however, here pursued, and with signal success, on the part of Miltiades. The centre of the Athenian army consequently gave way; but each wing of the Persians was defeated and

* Lib. viii. 111, *seq.*

fled. The Greek victors, instead of pursuing, united their force against the Persian centre, who, elated with their victory, and in hot pursuit of the enemy, were themselves forthwith put to the rout.

An additional motive with Miltiades for weakening his centre seems to have been the extension of his line, to avoid being outflanked by the superior numbers of the enemy. This may be inferred from another peculiarity in the conduct of the action mentioned by the historian:* that the Greeks, contrary to their previous practice, here for the first time advanced to the assault at full speed, and from no less a distance than eight stadia, or about a mile. Herodotus does not assign any motive for this change of method; but it is explained by the previous details he supplies. Had the Athenians, after equalizing their line as nearly as was in their power to that of their opponents, remained inactive, they would have given them opportunity to deploy, which would have defeated their purpose. Their policy therefore was, to charge at once with such rapidity as should leave no time for a counter manœuvre on the part of the Persians.

There can, however, be little doubt, if not, as Mitford† supposes, that the flight of the Athenian centre was feigned, that its weakness and consequent defeat formed at least part of a stratagem of Miltiades, to lead the mass of the enemy's force out of the field, and engage them in unprofitable pursuit, trusting to the superiority of his own wings to ensure the final success of the action. Such a stratagem would show a singular confidence on the part of Miltiades in the valour and steadiness of his own troops, and the comparative ill discipline or unskilfulness of the enemy. For had the victory of his wings been less decided, or had the Persians shown a little

* Herodot. vi. 112.

† *Hist. of Greece*, ch. vii. sect. 4.

more judgment in the use of their temporary success, considering their superiority of numbers and cavalry, the consequence would, or at least ought to have been, the cutting up in detail of the Athenian army.

It is indeed evident from the accounts both of this and other engagements during the earlier and more glorious part of their military career, that the Greeks attached much greater importance to the strength of their wings than of their centre, and seem to have had scarcely a notion of the value of the modern system of breaking the opposite line. The best troops were always stationed in the wings; and the critical turn of an action depended mainly on the efforts of the two armies to outflank each other. This was the defect of the Lacedemonian tactics, as compared with the improved system of Pelopidas and Epaminondas, which involved the defeat of their armies by those generals. The great battle of Mantinea, more especially, was gained by the modern manœuvre of breaking the line.* The Macedonian phalanx was also formed on the principle of concentrating the whole weight of attack on a particular point of the enemy's line, so much so as to have been somewhat unwieldy, and hence unable to withstand the still more advanced science of the Romans, who appear to have blended all the excellences of the previous systems into one.

There can be no reasonable doubt that the tumulus in the centre of the plain is the *polyandrium* or common burial-place of the Athenians; nor is it easy to under-

* Xenoph. *Hellen.* vi. 4, 13; vii. 5, 22.—The historian describes Epaminondas at Mantinea as collecting his best troops into the centre, and there disposing them in the form of a "strong wedge," (ἰσχυρὸν ἔμβολον,) with which he charged the hostile line, "as a ship assails the flank of its adversary with its rostrum." The manœuvre of his cavalry was very similar.

stand how various travellers should so confidently ascribe it to the Persians, in the face of the distinct testimony of Pausanias,* that although the victors had buried the bodies of the enemy, no memorial was extant of their place of sepulture; from which he infers that they had been thrown into the grave, less as a mark of respect, than in conformity with religious observance: he might, perhaps, have added—in order to get rid of the nuisance of their carcasses. It is not indeed to be supposed that the Athenians should have been at pains to erect so bulky, and, considering the labour it must have cost, so expensive a monument, to their hated invaders, while they themselves were contented with so much humbler a mound, that the weather, or the labours of the husbandman, should have since swept it from the face of the plain.

The opinion that this tumulus indicates the burial-place of the Persians, was suggested, apparently, by the small pieces of polished flint that abound among the earth of which it is composed, and have, upon grounds that will not stand the test of criticism, been considered as fragments of the arrow-heads used by the archers of Artaphernes. The number of these curious relics is very surprising. During the hour or two that our party loitered on the side of the tumulus, I picked up about forty, and several of my companions nearly an equal number. As most other visitors amuse themselves in the same way, and with similar success, to judge from the proportion already found, or daily brought to light on the surface of the tumulus, those originally imbedded in its earth must be incalculable. They abound, however, in other parts of Greece and its dependencies, where no Persian is even reported to have set foot; while neither at Thermopylæ, where the Persian arrows—in terms of

* *Attic.* xxxii.

the celebrated Spartan apothegm—were so thick as to darken the air, nor at Platæa, has a single one been found; although Dodwell* assures us he sought them carefully on the scene of both actions. They are not uncommon in the waste grounds in the neighbourhood of Athens, where I added a fragment or two to my stock. The largest and most entire specimens I have seen, or which I believe have yet been discovered, were found in the island of Santorini, the ancient Thera, and are now in the possession of Mr Finlay.† They are usually formed like the point of a very small dagger, with the surface shaped on each side into three flat faces or compartments. Some of those belonging to Mr Finlay are slightly curved at the extremity, presenting the appearance of a xystra or strigilis. These, it is evident, could not have been used either for the point of an arrow or a javelin, but were destined rather for domestic or mechanical, than military purposes. Hence it has been more reasonably conjectured, that these supposed oriental arrow-heads are but the remains of the old stone implements used by the Pelasgi and other aborigines of Hellas, during its barbarous ages, before the greater extension of the use of brass or iron. The extraordinary quantity observable in and about the Marathonian tumulus must, however, still remain a mystery. Assuming them to have been the arrow-heads of the Persians entombed beneath it, we must suppose, either that the greater proportion of the barbarians slain in the action were archers, and were cast into the grave each with a well-stocked quiver, or that the Greeks had been at pains to collect the weapons scattered over the plain, and heap them up with the earth of the tumulus. Both these hypotheses are obviously most improbable. It were,

* Vol. i. p. 280.

† See *Op. sup. cit.* 392.

perhaps, more reasonable to suppose, that the site accidentally selected for the monument by the Athenians, was that of a former magazine of cutlery in the days of their barbarous ancestors.

The battle of Marathon is the most brilliant exploit in the military annals of Greece. It was achieved single-handed by a petty republic, against the hosts of the mightiest sovereign of the world at that period, on the spur of the moment, and by the simple impulse of genuine valour and patriotism, unsullied by that intrigue, chicanery, and cabal, which disgraced the conduct, and marred many of the subsequent operations, of the confederacy against the Persians, under the guidance of the Lacedæmonian system of selfish patriotism. It nipped in the bud a project for the subjugation, not of Athens alone, but of all Greece, which had been formed and matured under the most favourable auspices; and although, unlike the more decisive battle of Platæa, far from putting an end to the ambitious schemes of conquest on the part of the "great monarch," it immediately led to their boundless extension, yet its moral effects on the whole subsequent destinies of the war were most important, by first opening the eyes of the Greeks to their real superiority over an enemy, with whom, whether in point of numbers, prowess, or tactics, they had hitherto imagined themselves unable to cope. At this period the Persian troops, we learn from Herodotus, far from being considered, as afterwards, in the light of undisciplined barbarians, were objects of terror to every foe. In allusion to the charge of the Athenians, he says:* "They were the first of all the Hellenes, to the best of my knowledge, who attacked an enemy at full speed, and the first who could behold without alarm the dress of a Mede, still less the man who wore it; for up to this day so much as the

* vi. 112.

name of a Mede was a terror to the Greeks." The Persian arms, in fact, as we learn from the previous details of his own history, had hitherto been favoured with uninterrupted success against all the nations of European blood. In their previous long-continued wars for the subjugation of the Greek states on the coast and islands of Asia Minor, now their own vassals, considered in those days no way inferior to their western kinsmen in military conduct, and superior to them in numbers and resources, although our accounts are derived from Greek historians alone, we scarcely hear of their ever having experienced any serious check. Yet under all these apparent disadvantages, both moral and physical, an army which cannot safely be rated much above 15,000 men, without cavalry, assaulted in an open plain a host of many times their number of these same formidable warriors, combining every advantage of composition and equipment, and defeated them by one of the boldest manœuvres recorded in the annals of ancient warfare. Apart, therefore, from the military credit of this achievement, the moral courage displayed by the Athenians entitles it to a higher rank in the list of heroic exploits than any other of the subsequent battles of Greek against barbarian, where all these unfavourable circumstances were reversed. In each of these encounters, the only disadvantage on the side of the Greeks, if such it can be called, was that of numbers. But the heroes of Marathon had taught them that a small band of experienced Hellenic warriors, opposed to an unmanageable crowd of half-disciplined irregulars, might look with full confidence to their own valour and conduct for an easy victory.

Athens indeed, in common with her Bœotian ally Platæa, whose destinies and interests are at this period so inseparable from her own, that the history of both

forms but a single chapter in the annals of the confederacy, is justly entitled to the first honours as representative of the heroic genius of republican Greece, during the whole of this eventful era, in spite of all the prejudices, ancient and modern, in favour of the ascetic prowess and selfish patriotism of Sparta.* Ever ready, at a moment's warning, to act or to suffer in her own or the public defence—patiently submitting, for the common good, to every evil that can befall a country—she beheld her city burnt, her territory ravaged, her population forced to seek refuge among barren rocks and mountain fastnesses, without ever for a moment relaxing her energies, or allowing the very name of accommodation—still less of treachery—to be whispered in her councils; although deserted or betrayed on every side by those very allies for whom, in a great measure, those sacrifices were made, but to whom the severest of her calamities were objects of indifference, or even of secret satisfaction.

The alliance between Athens and her spirited little ally on the other side of Cithæron, gives an additional interest to the part they were jointly destined to perform during the more eventful periods of their common history, by tinging it with a shade of romance, such as rarely attaches to the details of international politics. There are, indeed, few more striking examples of sincere and constant friendship, either in public or private life, than this alliance. Nor can its influence or results, with more immediate reference to the case in point, be more touchingly characterized than in the simple but elegant language of Herodotus. While their other neighbours

* At the period of the Gaulish invasion, the Athenians, though now in the last stage of their corruption, were still foremost in the struggle for Hellenic independence, (PAUSAN. i. c. 4;) and indeed on all other occasions were the readiest to offer resistance to a foreign invader.

were lingering and temporizing, engaged in public festivals, or preparing to make the best terms in their power in case of the further advance of their formidable enemy, "scarcely," says the historian,* "had the Athenians taken up their quarters in the Marathonian sanctuary of Hercules, than the Platæans joined them to a man; for the Platæans had given themselves up to the Athenians, who for their sake had already suffered much and often." And much, as we have seen, the Platæans, in their turn, were destined to suffer for the Athenians.

Marathon was the field of a well-fought battle between the Greeks and the Turks, on the 16th of July 1824, in which the former, to the number of 800 men, commanded by Gouras, were completely victorious.

Our return from Vraná to Athens, over the higher ridge of Pentelicus, past the quarries, was performed with such ease and expedition, as to prove that the disaster of the day before could only have been the result of gross mismanagement. The route is rugged and precipitous, without much picturesque beauty, until the traveller reaches the side of the mountain facing the city, in the neighbourhood of the convent of Pentéli, and of the quarries. From both these points the landscape combines all the more excellent features of Attic scenery. The declivities of the hill, the plain, and the olive-grounds, form the foreground. Beyond appears the city and its heights, backed by the gulf and its coasts and islands. To the left the landscape is bounded by Hymettus, the outline of which here combines boldness with elegance in the happiest proportions; to the right by the lower declivities of Parnes, backed by the lofty peaks of the Megarian range. The monastery of Pentéli, which, with one or two other establishments of the same kind in other parts of the mountain, has survived the ravages

* vi. 108.

of the late war, consists of an extensive range of courts and miscellaneous edifices, all in a sufficiently desolate and dilapidated condition, and the principal use of which is to accommodate travellers and picnick parties from Athens. The marble quarries form a range of cliffs on each flank of a deep ravine, which runs for upwards of a mile in a north-westerly direction, towards the summit of the mountain. A considerable part of the open space of the ravine is formed by the ancient excavations, which, extending here and there into the sides of the hill, as the convenience of working or the quality of the marble suggested, offer a succession of projecting angles and recesses bearing the marks of chiseling quite fresh. The bed of the ravine supplies now, as it did formerly, both the channel for carrying off the water from the works, and the carriage-road for the transport of the marbles. The best material is found in the upper quarries, from which the blocks for the structure of the royal palace are procured.

In the afternoon, I galloped across the level plain into the city, with the rich rays of the setting sun in my face, gradually becoming fainter behind the dark colossal height of Lycabettus. I spent the evening with Sir Edmund Lyons and family, who were as much diverted with the ludicrous portion of his late political antagonist's disaster, as they would no doubt have been distressed could they have anticipated its fatal consequences.

The following evening I was presented to king Otho and his queen, an honour which was not obtained without some little management; for, besides that their majesties had returned but a few days before from a tour in the provinces, it appeared that the etiquette of the infant court was sufficiently matured, to allow of some demur being made to the reception of a person travelling under a military title without a military uniform. This was the

less to be wondered at, as the king himself seemed invariably to wear regimentals. The manner of both, especially of the queen, is very affable. His majesty's appearance and address convey a more favourable impression of his temper than of his talents. He is a fair young man, with a good figure, but a plain unmeaning countenance. The queen is a fresh pretty German girl. Her beauty I had previously heard more commended than it deserves. His principal amusements are riding excursions, in which the queen takes part, and playing at billiards; but I was assured that he had lately paid much attention to business, and shown a great anxiety to take an active share in the direction of his cabinet, however little qualified for such duties.

CHAPTER XXXII.

PIRÆUS—VOYAGE TO SUNIUM.

ἔνθεν μὲν προτέρω πλέομεν ἀκαχήμενοι ἦτορ.—Hom. *Odyss.*

"With heavy hearts our onward course we sail."

There are few things more painful than the sudden interruption, after so brief a period of enjoyment, of social relations which have been the source of much pleasure, and which one would fain have rendered permanent, without any apparent prospect of their renewal. Such was my case at present; and my regrets in quitting Athens were at least as much for the many kind friends I left behind, as for the shortness of the time I had been able to devote to its objects of local beauty or interest.

On the forenoon of Saturday, March 24, we started for the Piræus, where we had engaged a bark to take us, wind and weather permitting, to the Sunian promontory, and from thence, by way of Ægina, to the Corinthian isthmus. The port of Piræus has a more animated and flourishing aspect than any other I visited on the Greek coast. Its excellence as a harbour is, I believe, generally admitted by the learned both in the ancient and modern science of navigation; and the justice of their opinion is fully borne out to the eye of the less skilful observer, by the beauty and tranquillity of its capacious basin. The town has already many tolerable streets and houses, and the eastern shore is lined with magazines of respectable size and structure. Within

the port, besides many large-sized traders, were moored several French and Russian men-of-war, while a great part of its interior circumference was thickly fringed with inferior craft of every size and denomination. The whole scene offers a most agreeable contrast to the "silent sepulchral gloom of the Piræus" in the days of Dodwell; when a few hovels were the whole town, and frequently not a boat was to be seen in the harbour. The extant relics of the ancient grandeur of the place, are but a few cyclopian or polygonal foundations on the heights to the eastward, the shell of a theatre, and some broken columns and sarcophagi near the point which bounds the entrance of the port to the right, in approaching from the sea. Among these the imagination is at liberty to identify the remains of the tomb of Themistocles, supposed to have stood upon this cape.*

After a walk over the desolate range of peninsulas and promontories, formerly covered by the ancient town, and encircling the once still more animated, but now deserted ports of Munychia and Phalerus, I ate a bad dinner at a trattoria, which professed to be all 'Italiana—retired to rest on board our bark—and at daybreak, March 25, found myself coasting slowly along the shore of Hymettus. The day was fine, but not favourable to our progress, and the wind towards evening freshened into a gale, for weathering which the harbour of Sunium, now about eight or ten miles distant, even could we have reached it, would not have been a safe station. We therefore withdrew into a little bay or cove, sheltered by a projecting headland, and by a small but lofty and precipitous island. This is the bay called Anaphlystus by Herodotus and Xenophon,† and Hyphormus by

* Leake, *Topogr.* 317, *seq.*

† Herodot. iv. 99. Xenoph. *De Vectig.* iv. c. 43.

Ptolemy;* the promontory by which it was sheltered was named Astypalæa; the island Eleussa. It was, together with the corresponding inlet of Thoricus on the east coast of Attica, strongly fortified, for the protection of the silver mines worked in the surrounding hills of Laurium.

I walked up to the summit of the rocky height immediately above our station, to obtain as extensive a view as the twilight would permit of the interior of the country. It were difficult to conceive a more dreary scene of desolation than here presented itself, or indeed than that offered by the whole of this once populous region, as far as the eye could stretch in coasting along its shore from Athens to the Sunian promontory. With the exception of a small deserted hovel, whether cottage, chapel, or magazine, it were difficult to decide, immediately above our moorings, not a symptom of human life or industry could be descried—nothing but a barren waste of rock, heath, or mountain, unrelieved by forest or tree. Not even the bleat of a goat, the tinkling of a sheep bell, or the evening call of the herdsman, sounds which seldom fail to enliven even the most desert mountain solitudes of Greece, were here to be heard. The only sign of animal existence that offered itself in the course of my ramble was a solitary owl, which I disturbed from a crevice in the hut in passing; as if in satirical fulfilment of the satirical prediction of Aristophanes:†

> Γλαῦκες ὑμᾶς οὔποτ' ἐπιλείψουσι Λαυριωτικαί,
>
> "In Attica the Laurian owl shall never fail."

We were again under weigh a little after sunrise, (26th,) and a two hours' sail brought us to the little bay below

* Ptolem. L. iii.

† *Aves*, 1106. In allusion to the silver coin stamped with the figure of an owl.

the Sunian promontory, where we leave our bark at anchor, while we mount to the ruins. The day was bright and warm, and the cheerful prospect over a fair blue sea studded with islands, compensated for the still desolate features of the interior. Sophocles calls Sunium a woody promontory,* a description no longer applicable. But a few stunted fir bushes, straggling over the declivity below the temple, would seem still to vouch for its propriety in his own age.

Next to the grandeur of their situation, the peculiarity of the Sunian columns which chiefly attracted my attention is their milky whiteness. The marble of which they are composed is by nature of a much lighter colour than that of the Pentelic quarries, and the perpetual action of the spray, while it corrodes and bleaches their surface, prevents the formation of that fine yellow crust which we admire in the Parthenon. As seen from a distance, glittering in the sun across the blue sea, they look like pillars of snow or salt, rather than stone.† The traveller just arrived from Athens cannot fail also to be struck with their diminutive size, as contrasted more especially with the celebrity of the edifice to which they belonged.

In the afternoon, we pursued our voyage towards the isle of Ægina. Our progress was again but slow. During the last few hours of our course, the columns of the Æginetic temple were in full view in front of us; but we reached the shore too late to admit of a visit to them that evening, and again took up our moorings for the night in the little port below. In the morning, I was upon the

* *Ajax.* 1235.

† This supplies an item to the catalogue I have collected, of the infidelities to nature of which professional landscape-painters are guilty, in their treatment of Greek subjects. In all or most of the many beautiful drawings I have seen of these columns, they are represented very much of the same mellow colour as those of the Parthenon and Olympium.

esplanade of the temple in time to see the sun rise out of the waters of the Ægæan.

It seems now to be established on satisfactory grounds, that the title Panhellenium, which has attached to these ruins at least since the days of Wheler and Spon, is misapplied, and that the inscription by which, in our own time, it has been attempted to sustain its accuracy, is a forgery. The conical mountain top towards the southern extremity of the island, now called the "oros," or mountain, of St Elias, which is by far the highest point of land within its bounds, and forms so striking an object of view from every part of the gulf, is supposed, with far greater justice, to have been the real site of this celebrated sanctuary. It presents considerable traces of ancient masonry. The title Panhellenium appears in itself to bear allusion to the conspicuous character of the peak, as forming the centre of the prospect from some point or other of each of the most influential subdivisions of the old Hellenic territory.*

The claims of Minerva to supplant her father as the real patroness of the existing temple, though not perhaps altogether beyond the reach of controversy, are very strong. That she had a distinguished seat of worship in the island, we know from Herodotus;† and that it was situated, not in the town, but in the open country of Ægina, may be inferred from the text of Pausanias,‡

* The other arguments in favour of this view have been stated by Dr Wordsworth, (*Attica*, p. 270, *seq.*,) and still more fully by M. de Klenze, (*Aphoristische Bemerkk.* p. 182, *seq.*) To the authorities there quoted, one may here be added which has escaped their notice. The Scholiast of Pindar (*Nem.* v. v. 17) designates the Panhellenium by the term ἀκρωτήριον, which, unless we render it promontory, a sense inapplicable to either site, must here be understood, as it is familiarly used by Herodotus, (vii. 117,) to denote the highest point of land in a district.

† iii. 59.

‡ *Corinth.* xxix.

who in his list of the buildings of the city and its environs mentions no temple of this goddess. The evidence of the sculptured groups that adorned the pediments—those noble specimens of Æginetic art, * in each of which Pallas occupies the central and most conspicuous position, as directress of the combat that takes place in front of her, also tends powerfully to establish her claims. It was, in fact, the disinterment of these marbles that first excited doubts of the accuracy of the popular title of the ruins. They have, however, in spite of all argument or evidence to the contrary, retained, during the twenty-seven years that have since elapsed, and will probably long continue to enjoy, in popular usage and belief, the name and honours of the shrine of Jupiter Panhellenius.

The picturesque beauty of this ruin is too universally known and appreciated to require either description or commentary. In the small portion of the island which I had opportunity of visiting—although I saw neither house nor human being—I was struck with appearances of agricultural industry, to which I had lately been a stranger. A great part of the rugged declivity between the temple and the sea was laid out and cultivated, where practicable, in the same form of plots and terraces already described in similar localities at Ithaca and elsewhere, and under circumstances perhaps still less favourable to so laborious an operation. The inhabitants of this island, so remarkable for its barren soil and mountainous surface, have in all ages been distinguished for their industrious habits. They were so even in Turkish times, and to the same cause must chiefly be attributed the high

* Now in the gallery of Munich. Dr Wordsworth's theory, (*Athens*, p. 170, *seq.*,) that this temple was a work, not of the native Æginetes, but of their Athenian conquerors during the Peloponnesian war, is completely set aside by the style of these sculptures, of which there are casts in the British Museum.

pitch of prosperity and power attained in the flourishing days of Greece, by a territory of so limited extent, and so little favoured by nature. If we may trust Aristotle,* Ægina at one time contained 470,000 slaves. The slave population of Corinth in her greatest prosperity was rated at only 460,000;† that of Athens itself at the commencement of her decline, at but 400,000.‡ The population of this island must therefore have equalled or exceeded that of Attica, a country which, even exclusive of several dependencies whose inhabitants were probably comprised in the above estimate, boasted a ten times greater extent of surface. Ægina, on the other hand, had no dependencies, while Salamis alone, among those of Athens, was superior in size to herself. This rugged little state, therefore, supplies one of the most remarkable instances on record of the effect of talent, industry, and commercial enterprise, in conquering natural difficulties, and promoting wealth and power. In modern times, the neighbouring islands of Hydra and Spezia offer examples on a smaller scale of the same union of sterility and opulence. The Æginetes may, indeed, be considered as the flower of the Dorian race. They united to its sterner martial features, of valour, simplicity, and independent spirit, the vivacity, grace, and expansion of mind, proper to their Ionian kinsmen. One-fourth of all the victors in the great national games celebrated by Pindar, were citizens of Ægina. The rivals of Athens, during several generations, in naval and military power, they were also the founders of the school of sculpture to which Hellenic art was indebted for the first decided steps towards its perfection; and the specimens of which still form the noblest ornaments of some of our great modern collections.

* Ap. Athenæum, L. vi. c. 20. Cf. *Schol.* Pind. *Ol.* viii. v. 30.

† *Epitimæus*, ap. Athenæum, *ibid.*

‡ *Ctesicles*, ap. Athenæum, *ibid.*

The maritime commerce of Ægina, however, was doubtless the immediate source of her political power. Aristotle* assigns her commercial navy the first rank in Greece; and hence the island was called the "Eyesore of the Piræus"—a saying as just, perhaps, in a political, as it is false in a picturesque point of view.† A large proportion, however, of her multitude of slaves must have been agricultural serfs, and the whole island, no doubt, was cultivated like a garden, its rugged mountain steeps every where laid out in terraces, covered with vines and olives, studded with villages or country houses, and intersected with roads and enclosures. To the over-population of the country may perhaps be traced the sense of an obscure allusion of Plato, indicating an excess of strictness in its rural police. In condemning the practice of unreasonable digression from the direct line of an argument, he adds: "lest we should be liable to a penalty, like those found wandering late at night in the roads in Ægina."‡

As a general rule, I observed, on my route through Greece, that agricultural industry has a greater tendency to flourish in rugged mountain districts than in fertile plains. This may be owing partly, perhaps, to the proverbial cause, that necessity stimulates the energies of mankind; partly, however, to the circumstance, that the richer lands were chiefly the property of the Turks. These tracts, since the expulsion of their ancient possessors, form part of the crown domains; and as it is difficult, in the present low state of population and capital, to find purchasers or cultivators, they are allowed for the

* *Politic.* iv. 28.

† This saying is ascribed by some to Pericles, by others to the Attic rhetor Demades.—See MUELLER, *Æginet.*, p. 3

‡ *ἵνα μὴ ὄφλωμεν, ὥσπερ οἱ ἐν Αἰγίνῃ νύκτωρ περιιόντες ὀψὲ ὁδοῦ.*—*Cratyl.* p. 443.

present in a great measure to lie waste. On the other hand, the native Greek population of the mountain communes, whose numbers had been less reduced by the vicissitudes of war, on the establishment of tranquillity and security of property, were stimulated, by the natural reaction subsequent to a long suspension of settled habits, to more than usual exertions.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

TO SALAMIS—PARALLEL OF HOMERIC AND MODERN GREEK NAVIGATION—TO MEGARA AND CORINTH.

οὐ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς εἰς Κόρινθον ἐσθ' ὁ πλοῦς.

"Non cuivis homini contingit adire Corinthum."

We were again under sail several hours before midday, (March 27th,) hoping to reach Corinth that evening. But the wind proved unfavourable, and we were once more obliged to put in for the night at the cove of Peristéra, near the southern extremity of the isle of Salamis. Some amends were made for the loss of so much valuable time, by the lively reality with which these little halts and interruptions of our course brought home to the fancy the ancient system of navigation, as exemplified more especially in the spirited passages of the Odyssey, descriptive of the successive arrivals, departures, debarkations, and disappointments of the hero and his fleet, among the coasts and islands of the seas, real or imaginary, across which lay their adventurous course. The following series of extracts,* if it be permitted to

* As the passages in the original occur at intervals, blended with or interruped by the remaining details of the narrative, they are here subjoined in continuous order, to guarantee the fidelity of the version:—

αὐτὰρ ἐπεί ῥ' ἐπὶ νῆα κατήλθομεν ἠδὲ θάλασσαν,
ἔν ῥ' ἱστοὺς τιθέμεσθα καὶ ἱστία νηὶ μελαίνῃ,
ἡμεῖς δ' ὅπλα ἕκαστα πονησάμενοι κατὰ νῆα,

compare small things with great, are little more than a poetical paraphrase of the account already given of the leading vicissitudes of my own voyage from Athens up to this point:

"Down to the shore our parting steps we bend,
Where lies our bark, and straight on board ascend;
The mast the seamen raise and spread the sail,
The helm directs her path before the gale;
The livelong day we plough the watery plain,
Till night's descending shades our course restrain.
Now in the bosom of a hollow bay,
The ship we moor till morn's returning ray.
Their meal the crew make ready on the shore,
Whilst I walk forth by twilight to explore
If human voice within the coast resound,
Or trace of man's abode or works be found.
The summit of a lofty crag I gain,
But gaze across the dreary land in vain;
Where far and wide no living signs appear
Of man or beast, the solitude to cheer.
Refreshed with frugal fare and generous wine,
Our weary limbs to slumber we resign.
But when again the rosy-finger'd morn
Beams o'er the east, my trusty crew I warn
To mount the deck—the sails aloft to rear—
And o'er the sea our onward course we steer."

On the present occasion, however, as the weather was

ἤμεθα· τὴν δ' ἄνεμός τε κυβερνήτης τ' ἴθυνεν·
τῆς δὲ πανημερίης τέταθ' ἱστία ποντοπορούσης.
ἦμος δ' ἠέλιος κατέδυ καὶ ἐπὶ κνέφας ἦλθε,
στήσαμεν ἐν λιμένι γλαφυρῷ εὐεργέα νῆα,
ἄγχ' ὕδατος γλυκεροῖο, καὶ ἐξαπέβησαν ἑταῖροι,
αἶψα δὲ δεῖπνον ἕλοντο θοῇ παρὰ νηῒ μελαίνῃ.
αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ παρὰ νηὸς ἀνήϊον εἰς περιωπήν,
εἴ πως ἔργα ἴδοιμι βροτῶν ἠνοπήν τε πυθοίμην·
ἔστην δὲ σκοπίην εἰς παιπαλόεσσαν ἀνελθών,
ἔνθεν δ' οὔτε βοῶν οὔτ' ἀνδρῶν φαίνετο ἔργα.
αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ σίτοιό τε πάσσαμεθ' ἠδὲ ποτοῖο,
ἔνθαδ' ἀποβρίξαντες ἐμείναμεν Ἠῶ δῖαν.
ἦμος δ' ἠριγένεια φάνη ῥοδοδάκτυλος Ἠώς,
δὴ τοτ' ἐγὼν ἑτάροισιν ἐποτρύνας ἐκέλευσα,
ἵστους στήσασθαι ἀνά τε πρυμνήσια λῦσαι·
οἱ δ' αἶψ' ἄμβαινον, ἀνά θ' ἱστία λευκ' ἐρύσαντες
ἔνθεν μὲν προτέρω πλέομεν. . . .

fine, and we were still making some progress, however slow, I took the liberty to remonstrate against this plan of anchoring for the night, and urged the continuance of our voyage, in the hope of at least reaching Corinth the next morning. To this proposal, however, I could not persuade our Navarch to agree; and his arguments on the other side, if versified by Homer, would have sounded very much like those addressed by Eurylochus to Ulysses on a somewhat similar occasion, of which the following is a tolerably faithful version:—

"Thou reckless man! can thy stern breast of steel
No pity? or thy frame no hardship feel?
Wilt thou thy comrades, sore with toil opprest,
And want of sleep, deny a short night's rest,
Upon this sea-girt isle, where from the blast
Secure we might prepare a sweet repast?
What profits it to wander thus in vain,
At midnight—blindfold—o'er the boundless main?
Night is the mother of the wintry gale,
And if some sudden storm our bark assail,
Of south or west wind, whose impetuous rage
The seaman's art or prayers can least assauge—*
From swift destruction whither should we flee?
The ocean's bed full sure our grave would be.
The hours of darkness let us then beguile
With food and slumber on this friendly isle;
Ready, with morn's returning light, once more,
The distant paths of ocean to explore."—*Odyss.* xii. 279, *seq.*

There could be no reasonable doubt that the decision was right, or at least consistent with the rules of good boat navigation under similar circumstances; for timidity could hardly be laid to the charge of a Hydriote seaman, while self-interest would induce him to shorten the voyage; the stipulation being, that he was to take us to Corinth for a fixed sum. Our passage from Ithaca, it is true, was performed chiefly by night; but then we were becalmed, and could not help ourselves.

* See additional note at the end of the volume.

As we approached the island, I observed that they were about to avoid the mainland of Salamis, and anchor behind a reef of small projecting rocks in the deep water, about a stone's throw from the shore. Here, again I interfered, being anxious to avail myself of this, the only opportunity I had, of setting foot on the "divine island." The objection, danger from the Klephts, struck me at the moment as altogether visionary in so deserted a spot. I therefore, in the best Greek I had at command, of which the following, after Homer,* is an epic paraphrase, persuaded them to set me on shore, for the purpose of an hour's ramble among the heights, after which they might push off and moor the vessel wherever they pleased:—

"Abide ye by the ship, my comrades true,
If thus ye will, whilst I the country view,
Which from our toils affords a resting-place,
And try the temper of its native race;
Be they barbarians, cruel, fierce, and rude,
Or men of godly hospitable mood.
I spoke; obedient they to my command,
The vessel ground, and on the coast I land.
Upon a height I stood, and thence descried
An isle encircled by the boundless tide."

I saw nothing living in the course of my ramble but a goat-herd and his flock.

On farther consideration, it appeared that the apprehensions of the Navarch were not so unreasonable; for as these little ports are the customary places of refuge by night for the small traders or passage-boats in the gulf, they obviously hold out very favourable opportunity for the enterprise of land pirates; with less risk of alarm or detection than on the roads of the interior. On some former occasions I had observed, that where there was no secure anchorage in the open port or roadstead,

* *Odyss.* ix. 172; x. 194, *et alibi.*

they fastened their vessel to the beach with a rope* of sufficient length to allow it to float in deep water, and which could be slipped or cut away in case of necessity. This precaution, in fact, they preferred in the present instance to the trouble of shifting their moorings to the point previously selected. There is consequently this difference between the practice of the modern Greek navigators and those of the heroic age, that the former sleep and take their refreshment on board their vessel, however small it may be, instead of on shore, as with Homer is invariably the case. His descriptions, however, must be presumed to apply only to fine summer weather; on cold or rainy nights, it is not to be supposed that his heroes would desert even such shelter as their vessels supplied, for a bed on the open beach.

This celebrated island was, by an interesting fatality, during the late war, as on the invasion of Xerxes, the chief place of refuge for the families of fugitive patriots from Attica and the neighbouring countries. They nestled among the rocks in winter, while in summer the native proprietors realized a small income by letting the shade of the olive-trees for their accommodation.

The next day (Wednesday the 28th March) was equally beautiful; but the wind still continued contrary, blowing from the Isthmus right in our teeth. We therefore determined to make for Megara, and proceed thence to Corinth by land. I had here a somewhat pointed verification of the old Greek proverb—

οὐ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς εἰς Κόρινθον ἐσθ' ὁ πλοῦς,

with which possibly the majority of my readers may be more familiar through the medium of the Latin version:

* These ropes now, as in ancient times, are usually made of reeds or sedge—σχοινίον, Hom. βύβλινον ὅπλον.

"Non cuivis homini contingit adire Corinthum."

This version, however, is more elegant than faithful; since the original Greek signifies that "not every man is lucky enough to *sail* to Corinth," whereas in the paraphrase it is said, that "not every man is lucky enough to *visit* Corinth." * Assuming the adage to be, as it probably is, of Attic origin, there can be little doubt that the real point of the allusion is to be sought in the capricious and fluctuating nature of the atmosphere in this gulf, and the consequent difficulty of navigating in a direct course from any one of its extremities to another.

The passage in the letter of Sulpicius to Cicero, descriptive of the objects that present themselves to the contemplation of the traveller on his voyage from Ægina to Megara, is too celebrated and too hackneyed to admit of its being either necessary or desirable that I should assign it a place in my text.† Its chief interest arises from the circumstance, that its application should be so much more pointed at the present day, than at the period when it was composed. There is certainly some little exaggeration in the statement it contains, that all the celebrated places it mentions were then complete ruins; now, however, it holds good in the strictest acceptation of the terms. The melancholy associations connected with the scene, besides being more real, have also the advantage of being less mortifying to the modern classical moralist

* The origin vulgarly assigned to this proverb, the costliness of a residence in the city of Corinth, owing to the seductions of her courtesans, is both lame and pointless. Hesychius, v. οὐ παντὸς, quotes Aristophanes as its author.

† *Ad fam.* L. iv. Ep. 5, 4. Quum ab Ægina Megaram versus navigarem, cœpi regiones circumcirca prospicere. Post me erat Ægina; ante Megara; dextra Piræeus; sinistra Corinthus; quæ oppida quodam tempore florentissima fuerunt, nunc prostrata et diruta ante oculos jacent.

than to the Romans of the age of Cicero. For it must be remembered, that it was to the Vandalism of their own commanders, that, in the cases where the remarks of Sulpicius are most pointed and most affecting—that of Corinth, for example—the desolation so feelingly described is to be attributed.

As the wind was favourable for Megara, we reached it in a few hours. We moored at some distance from the town to the westward, under a lower ridge of rocks, forming the eastern extremity of the Scironian range. The place offers no remains of any importance; and as neither its natural features nor its historical associations were such as to allure to a closer inspection, I sent up Nicóla alone to provide our equipage, and sat down upon the rocks, under a warm sun and a bright blue sky, feasting my eyes with another rich variety of the scenery of the gulf, and my appetite with a most unclassical breakfast of red herrings and Gruyère cheese. It seemed to be washing-day with the Megarensian dames and damsels; and a large assemblage of both were busily engaged on the beach in cleansing their family wardrobe, with asses and ponies in waiting for the transport of their baggage. There was no river mouth visible, the operation being performed in the briny sea itself; and I looked in vain for a figure, which, either as to face or form, could claim even a remote resemblance to Nausicaa. The modern Greek women indeed appeared to me, upon the whole, about the most ill-favoured race I have met with in any country. I had not imagined the sea water to be adapted to their purpose; but, judging from the colour of the garments they wore, a very small amount of bleaching would be sufficient to satisfy their notions of cleanliness. Sea water, however, would seem in ancient times also, to have been considered as preferable. One of the nice questions, mentioned by Plutarch as occupy-

ing the choice spirits among his countrymen, was: Why Nausicaa should have washed her clothes in the river, rather than in the sea, when so close at hand?*

Nicóla returned in about an hour with guides and horses; and we bade adieu to our Hydriote navigators, highly satisfied, not only with their zeal and good-humour, but their disinterestedness—a virtue one is not led to expect in this class of people, and least of all among Greeks. Although their fare was moderate, they asked for no drink-money, and were very grateful for the trifle they received.

From our point of debarkation we enter almost immediately upon the celebrated maritime pass of the Kakéskala, the Scironian rocks of antiquity. This is the finest coast scenery I saw in Greece. A range of lofty and nearly perpendicular rocks, or rather rocky mountains, extends for many miles along the shore, rising for the most part immediately out of the sea, and adorned with pines, wild olives, and a rich profusion of aromatic shrubs. Soon after starting, the road runs for several miles along a narrow ledge or terrace, cut in the rock halfway up the sides of the cliffs, and evidently of ancient workmanship. It is broad enough, where most entire, to admit of the belief that the pass, in spite of its present rugged state and the natural difficulties of the ground, was formerly practicable for wheel carriages. That it was so, in fact, in the days of Pausanias, we learn from that author, who attributes the merit of the work to the Emperor Hadrian.† From this higher level we descend to the brink of the water by a most rugged and precipitous path cut between walls of rock; the Kakéskala, or Bad Ladder, by pre-eminence. Here we were obliged to dismount and lead our horses; a matter of some difficulty, as a good pedestrian finds it not very

* *Sympos.* I. *qu.* ix. 1, 2. † *Attic.* xliv.

easy to keep his own footing, even when not responsible for that of his beast. These rocks are no less celebrated as the haunt of banditti at the present day, than they were in the age of Theseus. Just before our departure from Athens, intelligence arrived of an extensive robbery having been committed at the Kakéskala, on a caravan of merchants from Peloponnesus; and along the most suspicious parts of the route were now stationed patroles of gendarmes and civic guard.

It was dusk before we reached the little port of Kalamáki, on the shore of the narrowest point of the Isthmus, across which we rode, much to my regret, in the dark, and did not reach Corinth until the night was far advanced. The inn to which I was conducted has pretensions to a certain small degree of European comfort; but its accommodation was upon the whole scarcely equal to that of the better class of khans.

March 28.—The Acrocorinthus—whether in point of majesty or singularity—is by far the most striking object of its class that I have ever seen, either abroad or at home. Neither the Acropolis of Athens, nor the Larissa of Argos, nor any of the more celebrated mountain fortresses of western Europe—not even Gibraltar—can enter into the remotest competition with this gigantic citadel.* It stands, nearly insulated, in the midst of a plain gently sloping to the sea on each side, from the level of which it rises abruptly—in many places almost perpendicularly—to the height of nineteen hundred feet. Occupying the centre of the narrow isthmus that connects the two grand divisions of Hellas proper, and commanding her two principal seas, it looks as if made for a seat of empire. It is one of those objects more frequently, perhaps, to be met with in Greece than in any

* Well described by Livy, as "Arx inter omnia in immanem altitudinem edita."—xlv. 28.

other country of Europe, of which no drawing can convey other than a very faint notion. The outline, indeed, of this colossal mass of rugged rock and green sward, interspersed here and there, but scantily, with the customary fringe of shrubs, although from a distance it enters into fine composition with the surrounding landscape, can in itself hardly be called picturesque; and the formal line of embattled Turkish or Venetian wall, which crowns the summit, does not set it off to advantage. Its vast size and height produce the greatest effect, as viewed from the seven Doric columns, standing nearly in the centre of the wilderness of rubbish and hovels that now mark the site of the city which it formerly protected. These columns indeed seem, by their own Herculean proportions, to emulate its grandeur, and to attest the influence of the natural objects by which he was surrounded, on the genius of the primitive Dorian artist by whom they were designed.

The mythical history of the Acrocorinthus, as transmitted by Pausanias,* where it is described as a present from Briareus to the Sun, and from the Sun to Venus,† expresses by an appropriate and concise allegory the vastness of its natural features, and the proverbial beauty and splendour of the city over whose destinies it presided. There is still a brilliancy in the surrounding scenery, even in its present degraded state, which contrasts finely with the solemn majesty of this its principal feature. From the base of the rock, an expanse of green plain slopes gradually to the shore of the gulf, clothed at its southern extremity, where it meets the Sicyonian mountains, with dark green olive groves, bounded to the north

* Pausan. *Corinth,* iv. 7.

† Corinth is also called the city of Venus by Euripides, (ap. Strab. viii. c. 6;) a compliment, partly to its own charms, partly to those of the race of courtesans for which it was so celebrated.

by a lofty range of precipices, in front by the sea, while the summits of Helicon, Parnassus, and Cyllene, tower in the distance. It was with much regret, that owing to circumstances unnecessary here to detail, I was obliged to forego my purpose of ascending the Acropolis. The loss of a day's journey, which might have been the consequence had I carried it into effect, would have been a serious derangement of all my future plans. The disappointment was in some degree modified by the spread of a heavy mist over the distant mountains a few hours after dawn, although the day still continued bright and genial.

I looked in vain among the ruins, and over the surrounding plains, for the celebrated Acanthus plant, fabled to have first suggested to the Corinthian architect the design of the beautiful order which still inherits the name of his native city. The ground in many places, in the neighbourhood of the columns more especially, was covered with a rich profusion of other wild herbs of great size and luxuriance; but I was unable to discover a single specimen of the one I was in search of. I was equally unsuccessful at Athens, Sparta, and throughout the remainder of Greece, although this was the favourable season for its growth. Besides the Palatine hill of Rome, many parts of which are thickly clothed with this beautiful plant, the only other site where I have ever observed it in a natural state, is among the ruins of the Pelasgic city of Cossa, on the coast of the Tuscan maremma.

With the exception of the seven Doric columns, I observed no remains of the Hellenic period at Corinth. The shaft of each of these columns consists of a single stone. Their diameter, five feet ten inches, is greater than that of any others of the same order now standing in Greece, both in itself and in proportion to their

height, which, inclusive of the capital, is little more than four times their greatest thickness. From this circumstance it has been inferred, perhaps on somewhat too theoretical grounds, that the temple to which they belonged was the most ancient, as being the rudest and most massive specimen of the order in existence. Others, however, on the strength of the historical accounts of the complete destruction of Corinth by Mummius, have run into the opposite extreme of assuming them to be but an archaic imitation, of the Roman period. In their neighbourhood are some fragments of Roman brick-work; and in the open country, about a mile to the eastward, the shell of an amphitheatre, the masonry of which has almost entirely disappeared. In the surrounding plain I observed some ditches, lately cut by the peasantry as enclosures for their fields, to be intersected at little intervals, and at no great depth below the surface, with ancient sepulchres, composed of blocks and flags of stone rudely arranged in the form of coffins. This leaves no doubt that the cemetery of the ancient city extended in this direction, and a systematic excavation of the ground might be attended with valuable results.* Here accordingly it was that I obtained, for a trifle, the first object of any great rarity or interest which had yet been offered to me in the course of my travels. For although I was in the habit of giving notice wherever we came,

* Yet, if Strabo's authority be worth any thing, it is not likely that any very extensive discoveries will be made in the sepulchres of Corinth. "The Romans," he says, "when sent to colonize the town, happening at the commencement of their building operations to light upon some tombs, charmed with the beauty of their contents, ransacked the whole cemeteries of the place, not leaving a single grave unopened." This statement may perhaps help to account for the little value of the *terra cotta* vases—as compared with those excavated in the Italian cemeteries—that have yet been found at Corinth, in spite of its high celebrity as a seat of the manufacture.

that I should be glad to treat for the purchase of such curiosities as the villagers might possess, and was frequently surrounded by clamorous customers, they seldom brought any thing but a few medals of little beauty or value. This relic is a small silver ring,* in a perfect state of preservation, carved with a curious device, and an unintelligible inscription of considerable length, in the oldest Greek character. I purchased it at the door of a cottage situated between the amphitheatre and the town, of a peasant who had himself extracted it from one of the tombs above mentioned.

* See note at the end of the volume.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

CLEONÆ—NEMEAN FOREST—"ADVENTURE WITH BRIGANDS"—HABITS AND TACTICS OF THE GREEK KLEPHTS.

Ἀργεῖοι φῶρες· ἐπὶ τῶν προδήλως πονηρῶν· οἱ γὰρ Ἀργεῖοι ἐπὶ κλοπῇ κωμῳδοῦνται.—SUID. *in v. ex* ARISTOPH.

"'Argive Robber' is a proverb denoting the most barefaced of the profession; for the Argives are notorious thieves."

EARLY on the forenoon of Thursday, (March 29,) we started for Argos by the route of Nemea. The road passes along the upper part of the plain below the Acrocorinthus, with the gulf on the right hand. At the western extremity of the Isthmus, in the neighbourhood of the olive groves which here extend over the low grounds towards the sea, it diverges to the southward, up the course of a small stream, with the bed of which it identifies itself for a considerable distance. Along the banks are some ruined and deserted water mills. In a few hours we reach a small plain, strewed with the ruins of the ancient Cleonæ. The citadel, where some courses of Cyclopian wall are still visible, occupies an eminence to the right. Beyond is a khan, comprising also a station of gendarmes, where we halted to refresh. I entered into conversation with the non-commissioned officer in command, who described the route towards Argos as perfectly safe. About half a mile further on there is a division of the road, at the extreme point of a long low hill, which here juts forward towards the khan from the

great Nemean range, now rising in heavy dark masses in front of the traveller. The track to the right of this eminence leads direct to the ruins of the Nemean temple, that to the left is the high-road to Argos; from which, however, there is also a branch to the plain of Nemea, a few miles further on.

According to my usual practice, on continuing our route from the khan, I had ridden on before the rest of the cavalcade, and by Nicóla's instructions followed the track to the left. Happening, however, after proceeding about a mile, to look into Gell's itinerary, which I generally carried in my pocket, I observed that the road to Nemea is described by him as branching off to *the right*, after leaving Cleonæ. I therefore stopped some travellers who happened to come up at the moment, and enquired whether I was in the direct road to Agio Giorgio, (St George,) as Nemea is now called. They informed me that I had left it to the right, and recommended me to cross in that direction over the brow of the eminence above described, and that I should rejoin it on the other side. Upon this I halted until the rest of my party came up, when, it having been agreed that the other was the better route to the temple, we crossed over the height as directed, and again turned southward up a valley which leads into the heart of the Nemean forest. While we were making this deviation, I observed a man running at some distance along another part of the eminence, apparently watching our motions, and whom I supposed at the moment to be some country fellow, who seeing a party of travellers in difficulty about their line of route, was preparing to offer his services as guide. In a few minutes, however, he disappeared, and the circumstance left no further impression upon my mind.

We now entered one of the wildest and most dismal solitudes which it has been my lot to traverse in any

country. The road lay up a steep glen, between mountain ridges of uncouth form and gloomy colour, with bare rocky summits; their sides perforated here and there with caverns, the fabled haunts of the Nemean lion. The ravine itself is thickly clothed with brushwood, which overtops in many places the head of the traveller. In toiling up this dreary pass, Nicóla and myself had gained considerably on the agoghiate, who, with the baggage-horse, was coming up slowly in the rear, when we heard him calling to us in the distance. Nicóla, who happened at the moment to be in front of me, without stopping, turned his head and made him repeat what he had said. He then laughed and sent back an answer, which I did not understand. To my question, what the man wanted, he replied, that "he had said there were people hallooing after us from the bottom of the glen;" but that he, Nicóla, had told him, "he was a blockhead," and bid him "never mind them, but get on, and keep closer up with us." A few moments afterwards my companion again suddenly turned his head, his fierce countenance became fiery red, and immediately after deadly pale, and, with an expression of mixed alarm and fury, he poured forth a volley of the choicest Greek imprecations towards our rear. After a short pause, during which he seemed again to listen, the same ceremony was repeated, all as if in reply to some provocation from a distance; but during the whole time I heard no voice but his own, and the only part of his address intelligible to me, besides the term kérata, and one or two other elegant morsels of Hellenic blasphemy, was the concluding part, in which he asked, "whether they took us for women." He then quickened his pace, making a sign to me to follow his example, and once more called to the driver, who was now not far distant, to come up quickly. It was evident that something was wrong; but thinking the best plan

would be to let my companion manage the affair his own way, I said nothing until we had nearly gained the summit of the pass, when I ventured to ask what was the matter. He answered, that there were some scoundrels at the bottom of the glen calling out to us to stop, that "they wanted to rob us, and took us for women." I expressed incredulity; but he assured me there could be no doubt on the subject, as he understood the language of the Klephtic profession too well to be mistaken. The Greek thieves have a set form of words for ordering travellers to stand: Ston tópo, (more grammatically, ἐς τὸν τόπον) "on the spot;" which means, that their victims, on pain of death, are to stand motionless, or rather to lie down on their faces, until their property has been disposed of. This salute corresponds to that of the Italian brigands, "sulle faccie," which expresses the same thing somewhat more to the letter. It was this terrible watchword that, first catching Nicóla's ear, caused the sudden change in his demeanour and language. Considering the distance at which the enemy must have been from us, and knowing it to be the common custom of the Greek robbers to assault travellers from ambush, I still felt incredulous. This he explained, however, by the circumstance, that these were not professional Klephts, but, like those of whose operations we had previously had experience on Cithæron, gangs of dissolute peasants or shepherds; and that they no doubt supposed, and perhaps sometimes they might not be mistaken, that such would be the effect of the terrible words on a small party of what they probably took for quiet timid travellers, that, rather than risk worse consequences, we would have halted and allowed them to rifle us; and he again burst forth into anathemas against them for supposing us to be women. I could, however, still with difficulty bring myself to believe that any thing serious was intended,

until I found afterwards that my military friends at Argos, who had also extensive experience of the predatory habits of the country, on hearing the details, acquiesced in his view. It would seem that some plan which had been laid for stopping us on the direct road to Argos had been disconcerted, by the alteration of our route at starting; and the appearance of the fellow running on the height now connected itself naturally with the sequel of the adventure. It is probable, however, that their attempt was ultimately directed chiefly against the baggage horse, to them perhaps the most valuable part of our caravan; as we were almost at too great a distance to have stopped from panic, even if we had been women. Nicóla's volley of abuse and defiance, by persuading them that they were likely to meet with more serious customers than they expected, may have induced them to retire.

No other act of robbery was either committed or attempted, to my knowledge, on this line of route, in the course of this day or about the same period; from which it would seem that the plot, such as it was, had been laid exclusively in honour of our party. It may indeed appear, that the equipage of an English traveller ought to be at all times a more tempting bait than that of a country caravan. But this is not the case; on the contrary, it is notorious that classical tourists, and Frank travellers in general, are much less exposed to assault than any other class of passengers. This is said to be owing partly to a popular belief among the lower orders, that the Franks never carry any considerable amount of hard cash, but have circular letters, by showing which they can procure in each town credit sufficient to supply their immediate necessities, but which would be of no value to any but the lawful proprietor; on the contrary, would rather serve as a clue for detection of the pur-

loiners. They are also more afraid of the sensation which an assault on an Englishman, or a Frank of any other leading European country, would excite, and the more energetic measures that would be taken for the discovery and punishment of the offenders. It is only by reference to some such causes that we can explain the actual rarity of the outrages committed on this class of travellers, amid the numbers by whom Greece is now traversed every season. During my short tour, there came to my knowledge from ten to fifteen authenticated cases of highway robbery, not a few of them attended with murder, on my own immediate line of route, which would, on a fair average, give some hundred each year for the whole country. But of fifty Frank tourists who cross its surface, there is perhaps scarcely one whose personal experience can supply even as near an approach to an "Adventure with Brigands" to deck the pages of his journal-book, as the very insignificant one just recorded. A native trader who, they have reason to suppose, has been concluding a good bargain, collecting his outstanding debts, or otherwise realizing a small *peculium*, and on his way home to bury it—the usual mode of banking in Greece—is a far preferable victim. As a case in point, may be quoted that of the poor Thessalian, whom we found lying in the khan of Cithæron; and in the sequel I was eye-witness of another far more tragical illustration of the same rule.

Another peculiarity of this affair is, that the whole took place within little more than a mile of a station of gendarmes, who had assured me not half an hour before that the country was perfectly secure. Two or three miles further, on the road to Argos, where it is joined by the cross-road from Agio Giorgi, above alluded to, there is another station;—sufficient evidence of the dangerous character of the defiles of Nemea, and of the

audacity with which outrages are attempted, in spite of all the precautions of the police.

I had here practical evidence of what I had frequently heard remarked, by persons familiar with the habits of the Greek and Albanian mountaineers, regarding the high perfection in which they possess the physical senses. During the whole of Nicóla's dialogue with the thieves at the bottom of the ravine, although I was rather nearer them than himself, and, as may be supposed, listened attentively, I heard not so much as the sound of their voices. Probably their salute, being addressed not to ourselves but the agoghiate, was not very loud. It is, however, certain that Nicóla heard distinctly every syllable they uttered; but to me he appeared to be conversing with the rocks and mountains. When my attention was first called to what was passing, by his answer to the agoghiate, I could just distinguish the man's voice in the distance, but it came so faintly on my ear, that even had I been perfect master of his dialect, I could not certainly have understood what he said. In these respects this hardy race of mountaineers enjoy the same advantages as that which occupied their native country three thousand years ago, and which, whether descended from it or no, they in many respects so closely resemble. To make up the perfection of a barbarous warrior or huntsman, the deficiency of intellectual resources was compensated by a vastly superior allowance of those in which the human species are surpassed by the wild animals, against whom their first wars are waged. Besides a piercing eye and a delicate ear, swiftness of foot is to this day, as in those of Achilles, considered as one of the most valuable qualities of a soldier, and one in which the hero of Troy might perhaps have found his match among those of the late Turkish war. Two of its most celebrated chiefs, Marco Bózzaris and Odysseús

Androuzzos, were particularly distinguished in this department of martial accomplishment; and various cases are recorded, of the latter more especially, where he was indebted to its exercise for almost miraculous escapes from his pursuers.

Several curious details respecting the habits of the Greek brigands in their more organized state, were supplied me by some veteran Philhellenes at Argos, from experience furnished in the course of their own military career. Their system of organization is very complete. Each band is distributed into three, or at the most, four classes. The first comprehends the chief alone—the second his officers, or more accomplished marauders—the third the remainder of the gang. The booty is distributed into a corresponding number of shares. The chief is entitled to one for himself, and each subdivision of his force to another respectively. As the number of each rank is in the inverse ratio of their merit, the emoluments of the various members are thus in the proportion of their services. When acting in detached parties, for the more ready communication with each other, or with head-quarters, they have a system of signals, which consists in piling stones in small cairns or pillars, conveying, according to their variety of form and arrangement, or the number of stones employed, like the cyphers of our telegraphs, each a different signification to the initiated. When on the march, and anxious to observe secrecy in their movements, they are careful never to follow the beaten track for more than a certain distance at a time, but every two or three miles the whole party strike off at separate tangents into the mountains, and remuster at a preconcerted point on a more advanced stage of their journey. While on the road, they travel in single file, one in front of the other, and the last two or three of each party drag a bush behind them to efface

the mark of their footsteps in the dust. Similar precautions are taken at their bivouacs to destroy all trace of their movements. Their fires they manage in such a manner as to leave no black spot on the ground, by placing a thick layer of green wood below, on which the dry is piled and lighted, as upon a hearth; and before leaving the place, they lift the lower stratum in one mass, with the ashes on the top of it, carry it to some distance, and strew it in the recesses of the forest.

In laying their ambush, their tactic is to entrap their victims into the very centre of their body, and then, starting suddenly out upon them from their lurking places, to hem them in on every side with a chevaux de frise of muskets pointed at their breasts, so as to prevent the possibility of either resistance or escape. The travellers receive at the same moment, (unless the object is to kill or make prisoners, rather than mere plunder,) the order to lie on their faces, when a portion of the gang stands guard over them while the remainder dispose of their baggage. The art they possess of concealing their persons, on such occasions, is said to be most extraordinary; doubling themselves up behind stones or bushes, often to all appearance scarcely large enough to cover their bodies, studying the form and colour of the surface of the ground, and adapting it to that of their own clothes, so that an inexperienced person might even cast his eye over them, and yet pass them unobserved like a hare or rabbit in its form. One of my informants assured me, that he had in one instance suddenly found himself encompassed by a body of a dozen or fifteen armed men, on ground where he could scarcely before have thought it possible a single one could have found a hiding-place; so that, on looking around afterwards, it appeared almost as if his enemies had sprung up, like the Cadmean heroes of old, from the bowels of the earth. Skill and

boldness in the conduct of an ambush were as essential in the tactics of the ancient heroes as of the modern Klephts; and there can be little doubt that these very arts were as carefully studied, and as successfully practised, by a Diomed, as a Kolokotroni. The best precaution against this danger is a little dog trained to range the ground in front of his master, and whose instinct will effectually baffle the utmost perfection of klephtic wisdom or ingenuity.

They have also an organized system of espionage, and their means of obtaining intelligence as to the plans of their enemies, in the cabinet or the field, are very wonderful. An officer of distinction, who had at various times been extensively employed against them, told me, that in one very troublesome campaign, where he had taken all the ordinary precautions to conceal his designs or movements, he afterwards ascertained, by the confession of the captured chief, that many of the most important had been perfectly well known and anticipated by him. Apart from the natural acuteness of the race, there are other circumstances favourable to the success both of their political and military manœuvres. In this, and indeed in most other countries, any regular system of brigandage is usually connected with intestine war or civil dissension. In times of political tranquillity, the mere spirit of outlawry would hardly be sufficient, even in a country so imperfectly civilized as Greece, to draw together hundreds of individuals who might gain a livelihood by industrious habits, for the purpose of plundering the traveller, or preying on the peaceful population; and even if the government were unable to check it, the spirit of self-preservation would induce the citizens to do their best to put down such a nuisance. But where robbery and murder are cloaked under the pretext, real or imaginary, of self-defence, or reprisals on an enemy,

or the maintenance of a good cause, there is a great salvo to tender consciences; and each corps of outlaws, fighting under such colours, is seldom without a sufficient body of partisans among the peaceful inhabitants of the district it haunts, who furnish a medium of access to the secrets of the police or military. This was the case in the Turkish time, when, in spite of their own sufferings at the hands of the Klephts, the peasantry had always a certain sympathy with them, owing to the fact of their being solely or chiefly Greeks, and of their operations being carried on in defiance of a hated government, and mainly directed against the Turkish aristocracy, as the more wealthy portion of the community. To such an extent was this spirit prevalent at the period of Dodwell's visit to Greece, (1803–6,) that the remedy of last resort for the evil on the part of the Turkish rulers, was to assemble the heads of the Christian clergy, and cause them to issue a general edict of excommunication against whoever should in any shape aid or abet the proceedings of the outlaws; a step which had an immediate effect in reducing, if not altogether destroying the evil. Similar was the case during the late violent party feuds, towards the close of Capo d'Istria's career; and even now the success of the Maïnotes against the Bavarian regulars, or of other bands of freebooters organized here and there under pretext of resistance to the unpopular law of Conscription, appeared matter of general congratulation with the natives. The leaders of these bands in more turbulent times, it must also be remembered, unlike the Italian Capi di Comitiva, who are usually base-born dissolute knaves, or renegade monks, frequently belonged to the leading feudal nobility of the district, who took the field at the head of their followers, and may be compared, less to the common herd of banditti chiefs, than to the Autolyci or Sisyphi of old, or to our own border heroes, Rob

Roys, Johnny Armstrongs, and Belted Wills. The character of robber, as appears from Homer's account of the grandfather of Ulysses, if well supported, reflected rather honour than disgrace on a prince of those days. Indeed there is much reason to believe, from the general tenor of the poet's descriptions, that the spirit of plunder was little less prevalent among the petty chiefs of his own age than among their successors of the last generation.* The state of society in the north and south of Scotland, as illustrated by Sir Walter Scott's *Waverley* and the *Minstrelsy of the Border*, resembles that which existed in the Greek mountains, both in the heroic age and in modern times, as nearly as can well be imagined.

* In Northern Greece, as we learn from Thucydides (i. 5) and Polybius, (iv. 67,) the same habits continued inveterate in more civilized ages.

CHAPTER XXXV.

NEMEA—DEFILE OF TRETUS—TURKISH BONES.

. . . βαθυπέδῳ Νεμέᾳ . . .
ὑπ' ἀσκίοις Ὠγυγίοις ὄρεσιν.
PIND. *Nem.* iii. 30; vi. 73.

"Deep in a hollow plain Nemea lies,
Around, the dark Ogygian mountains rise."

TOWARDS the extremity of the pass, the features of the scenery became for a moment less gloomy. The valley now opens out a little, presenting here and there patches of greensward, and some tufts of luxuriant coppice wood, the only remains I saw of the forest of Nemea, from which Hercules cut his club. Its whole stock of timber would now scarcely supply a riding switch adapted to the use of such a hero. But on emerging into the open country, at the summit of the pass, the desolation of the prospect is still more striking than in the gorge itself. The foreground is a flat expanse of black rocky moor, bounded on every side by hills of the same character and colour, and intersected by dry water-courses, forming deep bushy ravines. Nicóla's previous contempt for alarm of robbers had, for the present at least, given place to an equal degree of zealous caution; and, before approaching any one of these suspicious passes, he made me halt fifty yards behind, until he had advanced alone to explore the ground. After crossing this moor, a gentle descent brings us to the site of the Nemean tem-

ple. The solitude, if here less dark and hideous, is still more profoundly melancholy, as well from its tamer and more tranquil features, as from the contrast which naturally forces itself on the mind, between the present state of so celebrated a spot, and the scene it once presented. The ruins consist of three tall solitary columns, rising from an extensive bed of fragments, nearly in the centre of a plain of moderate extent, level, green, and apparently fertile, but altogether uncultivated; nor was a single village, house, or living creature, rational or brute, to be seen; not a tree or a shrub, with the exception of one slender sapling among the rubbish of the temple, and a blighted fig bush sprouting from the wall of a Christian chapel constructed from its ruins, and now itself a ruin. The surrounding hills, while equally dark and barren, are perhaps the more dismal, from being less bold in outline, and less wild and rocky in surface, than those we had passed. Never in any spot do I remember to have had the feeling of solitude and desolation so powerfully brought home to my mind.

The site of the sanctuary is finely described by Pindar as a plain, "deep-seated under dark Ogygian mountains."* The term Ogygian implies any thing awful or mysterious from its antiquity or gloomy character. The epithet here rendered dark, is commonly interpreted *shady*, but, by an appropriate coincidence, may equally signify *shadeless;* a description much more applicable to the present appearance of the Nemean range.

The most remarkable feature of the distant landscape is a high mountain of a somewhat formal shape, towering above its neighbours. It has a broad table top, from which the sides slope, at first but little off the perpendicular, and then more gently with a gradual sweep towards

* See title to this chapter. Elsewhere Pindar speaks of the "leafy Nemea," v. 89.

the plain. This is evidently Mount Apesas, correctly described by Pausanias* as "altar-formed;" where Perseus first sacrificed to Jupiter Apesantius, and which is also mentioned by Hesiod† as a favourite haunt of the Nemean lion.

The remains of the temple, besides the three Doric columns still erect, consist of a wide field of prostrate masonry, comprising a large portion of the materials of both colonnades and entablature. One of the extant columns belonged to the peristyle; the two others, still supporting a piece of their architrave, to the antæ. The former is upwards of thirty-four feet in height, by five feet three inches in diameter; the other two are of proportionally less dimensions. These ruins present the same phenomenon, in a slighter degree, as those of Selinus in Sicily. The drums of the subverted columns are strewed, in many instances, in straight lines in front of each other, so as to occupy the same relative position in their prostrate state, as they formerly did when the columns were entire. These appearances are usually accounted for as the effects of an earthquake. The capital of the larger pillar now standing is also dislodged from its position, so as to project nearly half its breadth over the side of the shaft.

The most remarkable feature of these columns is the slenderness of their shafts. Their height is about six and a half diameters, a measure unexampled in any other Greek edifice of the Doric order; and their consequent poverty of effect affords, by the exception, a living evidence of the excellence of the standard rules laid down by the Greeks for the proportions of the different orders of architecture. It was essential to the elegance of the Ionic and Corinthian respectively, that their greater height and slenderness should be relieved by the addi-

* Pausan. *Cor.* xv. † Hes. *Theog.* 331.

tion of a base, and a corresponding extension and decoration of the capital. But, by reference to the same fundamental principles of art, the simplicity of the Doric column is incompatible with any but solid massive proportions. These rules, so obviously grounded on the elementary laws of architecture, are all violated in the case of the Nemean temple. The unseemly effect of these long narrow stalks, topped by a diminutive slab of stone, is still further increased by a paunch-like protuberance of their centres, which gives them a top-heavy and tottering appearance. We have no record of the epoch at which this sanctuary was constructed; but from whatever period it may date, it is certainly the most unfavourable extant specimen of native Greek architecture. There are no vestiges of any other ancient building in its immediate neighbourhood. Leake has described indistinct remains of the stadium, which I did not observe, at the foot of the hill, approaching from the north.*

Proceeding to the left, eastward, along the plain, nearly to its extremity, and crossing a ridge of hills, we rejoin the direct road from Cleonæ to Argos. Near the point of junction is the other station of gendarmes, already mentioned. I suggested to Nicóla the propriety of notifying to these guardians of the public peace the late attempt to disturb it within their own immediate jurisdiction. But the wily Albanian remarked, it were wiser to say nothing about it, as it could do but little good to any one, while, if the delinquents were apprehended upon our information, it might be a source of delay or trouble to ourselves. The readiness with which I acquiesced in this argument, shows how easily one's ideas of police and public duty are swayed by the influence of habit or circumstance.

* *Morea*, vol. iii. 331.

The Argos road at this point enters a long narrow pass between high mountains, at the foot of which it follows a dry water-course for several miles. This defile, now called Dervenáki, is the ancient Tretus, mentioned by Hesiod* as another of the fabulous haunts of the Nemean lion. Through it passed the carriage-road from Argos to Cleonæ in the days of Pausanias.† It is celebrated in our own times as the scene of one of the most remarkable occurrences of the late war, the destruction of the army of the Pashá Mahmoud Dramali in the year 1822. This force, the most formidable equipped by the Turks against Peloponnesus, is variously rated at from 20,000 to 45,000 men. It advanced almost without opposition from Thessaly to the Argolis. After a tumultuous campaign in this district they were reduced to the necessity of a retreat, less by any great exertion of prowess on the part of the insurgents, than by the individual conduct and patriotism of Demetrius Ypsilanti —the cunning tactics of Kolokotroni—and above all, the mismanagement of the Turkish commander, with its natural consequences, famine, sickness, and insubordination. The Greeks, foreseeing the result, had previously occupied all the passes in the direction of the enemy's retrograde march, which the Pashá in his stupidity had neglected to secure. Blindly attempting to force them, he lost several thousand men, together with his whole treasure and baggage, 2000 horses, and 600 camels. "The captors," says General Gordon, "afterwards sold camels at half-a-crown a head, and fine steeds at three or four shillings; and for a month afterwards the towns of the Morea resembled auction marts, dresses and arms being hawked about the streets from morning to night." The chief slaughter took place in this pass, and the carcasses of the Turks were left as usual to rot

* *Theog.* 331. † *Corinth.* c. xv.

on the ground where they fell. A few bones are still observable here and there on the surface of the road, or scattered among the bushes; and I was assured, both by Nicóla and others, who traversed it within a few years after the catastrophe, that at that time the whole defile was strewed with skeletons and skulls, both of men and horses.

The Greeks, far from emulating the delicacy of their ancestors, as to the decent disposal of the bodies of their fallen enemies, however hateful, or however different in race and religion, of which we lately had occasion to quote an instance in the case of the battle of Marathon, seem to have made a point of leaving the dead bodies of the infidels to rot on the ground, even on the public roads, to the risk of their own health and personal comfort, as the most satisfactory trophies of their victory. The bones of the remnant of this same host, which only escaped the sword in these defiles to perish by starvation at Corinth, though unobserved by me, were still visible a few years ago scattered over the plain between the acropolis and the sea. The coast in the neighbourhood of Navarin, where the Turkish garrison was butchered on the first surrender of the place in 1821, with a neighbouring island, where three hundred Greeks were massacred in their turn by the Egyptians, remained white with the skeletons of the sufferers for many years afterwards; and their mouldering remains have probably not yet entirely disappeared. Similar memorials of victory or of massacre are to be found scattered more or less abundantly in every corner of Greece.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

PLAIN OF ARGOS—MYCENE—"TREASURY OF ATREUS"—GATE OF LIONS.

εἰ καὶ ἐρημαίη κέχυμαι κόνις ἔνθα Μυκήνη,
εἰ καὶ ἀμαυροτέρη παντὸς ἰδεῖν σκοπέλου,
Ἴλου τις καθορῶν κλεινὴν πόλιν ἣς ἐπάτησα
τείχεα, καὶ Πριάμου πάντ' ἐκένωσα δόμον,
γνώσεταί ἔνθεν ὅσον πάρος ἔσθενον· εἰ δέ με γῆρας
ὕβρισεν, ἀρκοῦμαι μάρτυρι Μαιονίδῃ.—*Incert. Epigr.*

"If lowly in the dust Mycene lies,
A barren rock deserted and forlorn,
Yet think on Ilium where by her the prize
Of valour from proud Asia's host was borne.
Though fallen her towers, extinct her race divine,
Her glory still lives fresh in Homer's line."

THE pass now gradually widens, and the distant prospect of the green plain of Argos affords a welcome relief to the eye, after the dismal horrors of the Nemean forest. As we advance, every object that opens on the view is replete with associations of the deepest interest, those which attach to the most brilliant period of Greek chivalry and song; the Trojan war—the exploits, crimes, and misfortunes of the Pelopidan race, and the page of the Iliad and Odyssey. Each mountain, rock, or stream, has been the scene of some heroic adventure, or the site of some famous city; is immortalized in the line of some illustrious poet, or personified in some lively form in the brilliant allegory of Grecian fable. As we are clearing the defile, the dark round summit of the citadel of My-

cene appears on the left, backed by a lofty peaked mountain, but frowning itself above the lower eminences, towards the plain, that bound the retired valley in which it is embedded: hence so well described by Homer as "in a recess of the Argive land."* At the base of the lowest of these declivities is the village of Karváta; and hard by, on the road-side, to the right, the khan of the same name. The road here completely emerges into the open plain. After about an hour's ride, we cross by a bridge a small stream of muddy water, confined between two low gravelly banks. This is the celebrated Inachus, now called Vánitza. The dry torrent-bed which we cross immediately before entering Argos, usually mistaken for it by travellers, in spite of its greater width, and the more impetuous character of the stream it occasionally brings down, cannot compete for the honour of this name with a neighbour whose course is longer, more directly through the heart of the district of Argos, (for the Inachus was the river, not of the city but the district,) and whose waters, if not perennial, seldom leave their bed altogether dry. Leake,† therefore, seems to be right in supposing this torrent to be the Charadrus, where, according to Thucydides, the armies of the republic, on their return from an expedition, were obliged to undergo a court of enquiry before being admitted into the city. The name Charadrus —literally "torrent"—certainly characterizes very appropriately its broad but commonly empty channel. It now bears the equally appropriate name of Xeriá or the Dry river. Pausanias, however, seems to have considered it as the principal branch of the celebrated stream.

At Argos I found a very passable lodging above the

* μυχῷ Ἄργεος ἱπποβότοιο. Hence too, doubtless, the etymology of the name Mycene.

† *Morea*, vol. ii. 365.

principal coffeehouse of the bazar, a small square room, or rather wooden booth, with the luxury of glass casements, which I had not seen in any other place of public accommodation, with the exception of Athens. I procured a rickety chair and table, and found means to construct a bedstead; and was thus secured unusually sumptuous quarters for the five nights I spent in the place. Argos was at this time the headquarters of my countryman, General Gordon, who commanded in chief in the Peloponnesus. His arrival from Athens had preceded mine by several days, and a general invitation to his table, during the period of my stay, ensured me both agreeable society and excellent fare on my return from my daily rambles. The General, in addition to his extensive knowledge of the country and people, is an accomplished antiquary; and his long residence in this district had rendered him more especially familiar with its objects of interest. His house was also the evening rendezvous of several intelligent and agreeable Philhellene officers of the garrison. It thus became to me not only a pleasant, but a profitable resource, during the time I spent at his headquarters, which I also selected as my own for the period of my abode in Argolis, as the most convenient and central point for prosecuting my researches in the neighbourhood. Although there is no made road across the plain, except the one to Nauplia, and that scarcely practicable in the rainy season, yet in fine weather the fields may be traversed by carriages in every direction, and Argos supplies several, both single and double-horse vehicles, at moderate fares. I secured for daily use a light German caleche and pair, in which I drove out and spent the day, in whole or in part, at Mycene, Tiryns, Nauplia, or the Heræum, as it might happen. The distances between these famous spots are so short, that it were no very difficult matter to devote an

hour or two to each of them in the same day. From Argos to Karváta, the village below Mycene, is about six miles; from the same place to Nauplia, between seven and eight. Tiryns is close by the side of the Nauplia road, about two miles short of the latter town. The distance by the direct road, from Nauplia to Karváta, is about eleven miles. The Heræum lies about a mile to the right of this road, two miles short of Karváta. The direct distance from Argos to the nearest point of this road, below the Heræum, exceeds four miles.

The objects which first claim the attention of the traveller are the site and ruins of Mycene. This city, the favourite seat of the Pelopidan princes, and in some sense the metropolis of Peloponnesus, or of Greece itself during their dynasty, was destroyed, together with the neighbouring Tiryns, a work of the same age and character, soon after the Persian war, and was never rebuilt. Hence, while there are few Greek cities that can compete with her in the number and mass of her remains, there is none, with the exception perhaps of Tiryns, where they can, by reference to distinct historical data, advance pretensions to so remote an antiquity. The internal evidence of structure and character in her principal monuments, is indeed in itself sufficient guarantee that they existed long prior to the age when Homer celebrates her spacious streets, that are now a rocky wilderness, and her colossal walls,* which still strike the traveller with astonishment and admiration.

The drive from Argos in favourable weather scarcely occupies an hour. On turning to the right from the

* Such was the strength of these walls, if we may trust Pausanias, that the Argives, finding it impossible to take the city by force or surprise, reduced it by famine. The inhabitants, however, effected their escape without a surrender, and settled, some at Cleonæ, some in Macedonia, others in Achæa —(*Achaia*. c. xxv.)

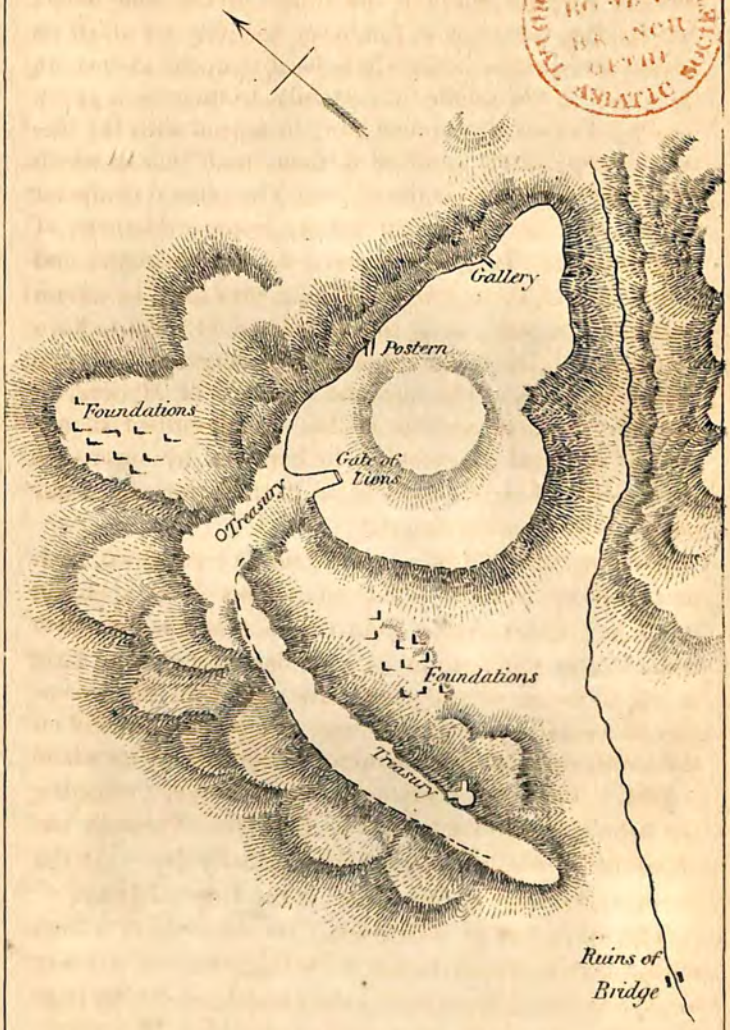
khan of Karváta, through the village of the same name, and clearing the brow of the lower declivity on which its houses are scattered, the whole locality opens at once on the view. It were difficult, certainly, to imagine a group of objects of an appearance more in unison with the historical associations attached to them, than that of which this venerable citadel is the centre. The general character of the scene is a bare, but not a gloomy wilderness, of rugged pasture land, interspersed with green slopes and precipitous cliffs, and rising behind into lofty mountain peaks. The features of this region would seem to have undergone little or no alteration during the last two thousand years. The site and environs of Mycene, in the latter days of ancient Hellas, are described in numerous poetical apostrophes to her fate, by successive generations of rhymers, as being in their time, as in our own, a wild pastoral desert.*

Mycene consisted of a citadel and an outer town, each defended by a wall. The citadel occupied a strong rocky height, projecting from the foot of the mountain behind it, in the form of an irregular triangle, the base of which fronts to the west. Its wall, with the exception of a small space at the verge of a precipitous cliff on the south side, can be distinctly recognised in its whole circuit. This cliff overhangs a deep gorge, protecting the whole south flank of the fortress. Through the abyss below winds a torrent bed, usually dry. At the north-west corner of the citadel is the Gate of Lions.

The outer line of wall is built on the crest of a long narrow ridge, which forms a continuation on a lower level of the rock occupied by the citadel, stretching from its north-west corner, in a gentle curve opposite its wes-

* *αἰπολίοισιν ἔναυλον ἐρημαίοισιν—μηλόβοτος καὶ βούνομος—αἰπολίου παντὸς ἐρημοτέρη—εὐμύκων αὔλια βουκολίων—κ.τ.λ.—Antholog.* l. ix. *Epigr.* 28, 101. *seq.*

MYCENÆ.



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tern front, so as, with it, to enclose a deep valley or recess in the hills. The side of this valley, formed by the citadel, is steep, and in parts precipitous; the opposite side is less so, and broken into undulating grassy slopes. The wall itself runs for the most part along a low ledge of rocks, which crowns the outer face of the height towards the open country. Though little more than a few stones are in any place preserved, yet its vestiges are distinctly traceable over a considerable portion of the ridge.

The masonry of both walls is chiefly of the same rude Cyclopian character common to Tiryns, the Heræum, and other fortresses of this age and district. Some parts, however, of the peribolus of the citadel are of the polygonal order, and have the appearance of being later repairs. The approach to the Gate of Lions, on the other hand, is constructed of blocks of nearly quadrangular form, though rudely shaped and put together. As there can be no reasonable doubt that this part of the fabric is of the same remote antiquity as the remainder, it would appear, from this and other examples, to have been the custom with these primitive builders to pay some little more attention to symmetry and regularity in the more ornamental portions of their work.

Within the outer wall, on different parts of the slope, substructions of buildings are visible, chiefly of the same archaic character. It is, however, remarkable, that similar traces of habitation are also to be seen in still greater numbers *without* its limits. This circumstance, coupled with the disappearance of all vestiges of its foundations to the southward, and with the improbability (as whoever inspects the ground must be satisfied) of its ever having been carried round in that direction to a second junction with the citadel, warrants the conclusion that it never formed a complete enclosure of an outer town, as most

writers on Mycenæan topography have assumed, but was merely an exterior rampart or breastwork, covering the citadel, and affording, perhaps, some sort of protection to the houses in its neighbourhood. Of the precise nature and object of such works, our limited knowledge of the primitive art of defence renders it difficult to judge; of their existence there is evidence in the fortifications of several other Greek cities.*

Hence it may be inferred that the population of Mycene, and probably of most other Hellenic towns of the same epoch, dwelt chiefly in straggling suburbs, which sprang up on strong points of ground in the immediate neighbourhood of the fortress of the chief, as did the villages and towns of our own middle ages around the castles of the feudal nobility whose protection they enjoyed, and into which they retired with their valuables, when assailed by an enemy against whom their own means of defence were insufficient. The actual citadel of Mycene is of so limited a size, that it could have contained little more than the usual contents of a royal residence—the dwelling of the sovereign; including, perhaps, those of his immediate retainers, and the chief religious sanctuaries.

With the exception of a few fragments of the outer wall, the first object of human art that presents itself, in following the path along the summit of the ridge, is the subterranean vault, commonly called the "Treasury of Atreus." The plan of this building corresponds, in all essential respects, to the description above given of that of the "Treasury" of Minyas at Orchomenus; and the remarks offered on the one† apply in a great measure to

* At the north corner of the Acropolis of Ithaca, for example, may be observed a projecting rampart, carried to a considerable distance along the crest of the hill; in such a manner and such a direction, that it could not be destined to form a junction with any other part of the wall.

† See chap. xvii. *supra*.

the other. The Mycenæan structure has, however, the advantage of being in a nearly perfect state of preservation. The great vault has also a side door, giving access to a small chamber excavated in the solid rock. This was probably the burial-place; the outer vault, the herœum or sanctuary of the deceased.* The doorway of the monument was formerly decorated with pilasters and other ornaments, in marbles of various colours, sculptured in a style partaking more of the oriental than of any primitive Hellenic school, and affording strong evidence of the influence of Asiatic art in the erection of these monuments. One of these fragments now forms the architrave of a building at Nauplia—formerly a Turkish mosque, in which the courts of justice hold their sittings. Several others are in the Elgin collection, in the British Museum.

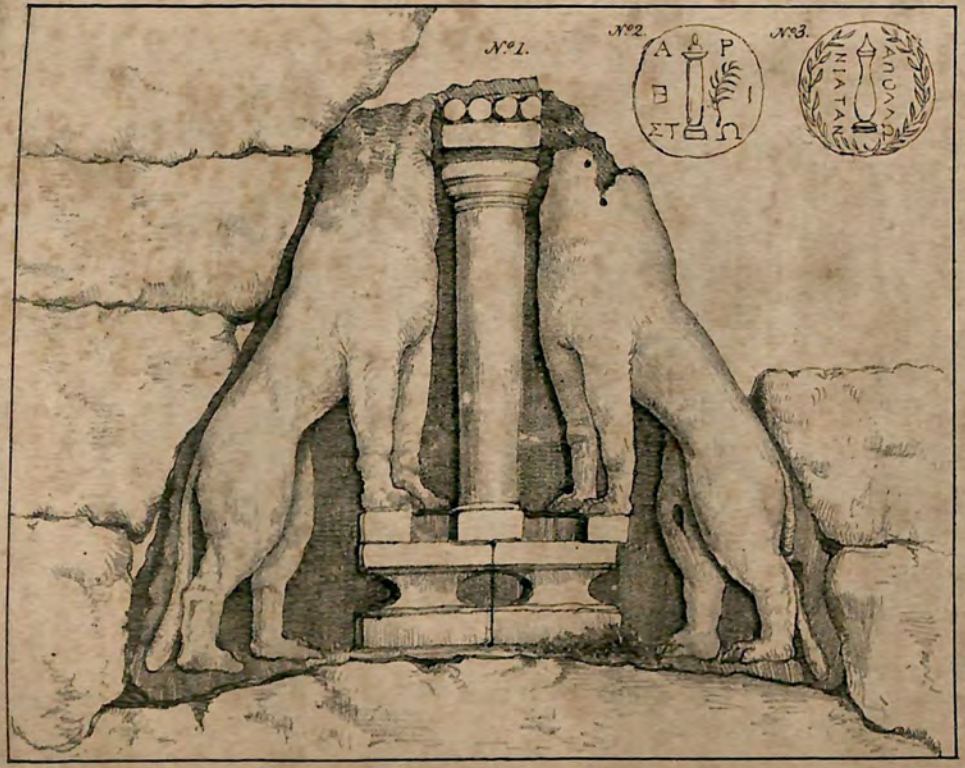
Following the traces of the outer wall along the brow of the hill towards the citadel, I cross the ruins of a modern Greek village, said to have been deserted by its inhabitants some generations ago, owing to the dreariness of the situation and the distance from water, for the site of the present hamlet of Karváta on the verge of the plain. Beyond it are the remains of a smaller vault of similar structure, in a totally ruinous state, and a few steps further on I find myself in front of the Gate of Lions.

This is perhaps the monument of ancient Greek art which the majority of travellers are accustomed to approach with the most intense feelings of curiosity and interest. In no case, however, where the imagination had been previously on the stretch for the first view of some remarkable object, do I remember the reality to

* The great vault is about fifty feet in width, and forty in height. The exterior architrave of the great doorway is upwards of twenty-seven feet long, nineteen broad, and three feet nine inches thick, and has been computed to weigh one hundred and thirty-three tons.

have so far exceeded the expectation, as when, turning an angle of the wall of the acropolis, these mysterious figures suddenly presented themselves, at the extremity of the little court in which they seem to be enshrined, like the living genii of the place in their especial sanctuary. I sat down involuntarily at some little distance from the gate, on one of the colossal blocks strewed at the entrance of the court, and gazed on them for many minutes, lost in a maze of recollections, before venturing on a nearer approach. The mind wandered back to the days of the Pelopidæ; to Agamemnon, to Troy, and beyond that date to the dark old Pelasgic period, to the unknown Phœnician, Egyptian, Lycian, Cyclopian authors of these extraordinary works; from thence back to Homer, to Sophocles, to Thermopylæ and Platæa, where the last glow of patriotism in the breasts of the citizens of Mycene, seems but to shed a ray of brightness on the extinction of their place and nation, which was its immediate consequence.* Presiding over the gate through which the ruler of the united armies of Greece marched forth to the most glorious enterprise of her heroic ages, this pair of figures stand to her art somewhat in the same relation as the Iliad and Odyssey to her literature. The one, the only extant specimens of the plastic skill of her mythical era—the other, the only genuine memorials of its chivalry and its song. Both have been preserved, alone and insulated, amid the same mysterious uncertainty as to the period, the author, or the state of society that produced them, and in nearly the same wonderful state of integrity, amid the wreck of every thing around them.

* The destruction of Mycene by the Argives is said to have been dictated by jealousy at the prominent part taken by its citizens in the struggle against Xerxes, from which they themselves kept aloof.—Diod. Sic. xi. 65. Pausan. *Cor.* xvi.



SCULPTURE OVER GATE AT MYCENE.

J. Vichers del. & Lithog.

The accessaries of situation and scenery here all combine to aid the power of these historical associations. The desolate grandeur of the surrounding landscape, the singular freshness of the figures as contrasted with the shapeless masses of mouldering ruin with which they are connected, the retired nook they occupy in the line of colossal masonry, and the dismal sighing of the wind through the grass and bushes that cover the broken fragments strewed in the court below—all tended to enhance the previous impressions of awe and mystery; and one almost felt as if one could have expected to see them descend from their pedestal, and challenge the right of the curious barbarian of the nineteenth century to disturb their ancient solitary reign.

The gate is approached by a recess in the wall of the fortress, forming a sort of court or corridor in front of it. Above the block which forms the architrave of the portal is a triangular gap in the masonry of the wall, formed by an oblique approximation of the side courses of stone, continued from each extremity of the lintel to an apex above its centre. The vacant space is occupied by the block, ten feet in height by twelve in breadth,* sculptured with the figures from which the gate derives its name. A similar gap exists over the door of the Treasury: it is now unoccupied; but the general analogy of plan in the two works can leave little doubt that it also formerly contained some decorative appendage. The great gate of Tiryns offered the same peculiarity, if we may trust those who saw its ruins previous to their entire demolition. This, therefore, may be considered as a distinctive feature of the Cyclopian architecture of the Argolis. Its object was obviously to lighten the pressure of the superincumbent wall upon the flat lintel, a simple enough expedient, adopted in similar cases, under

* Plate v. See additional note at the end of the volume.

different varieties of method, in every age. The principle itself is very distinctly laid down by Vitruvius.* Among other reasons, he also urges the facility it affords for replacing or repairing the lintel if from any cause broken or damaged. Strong, therefore, must have been the zeal for classical mysticism, which could lead Clarke and Gell,† overlooking a thing so simple and obvious, to speculate on the typical connexion between this triangle and the cones, pyramids, &c., of the Persian and Indian fire-worshippers.

The most remarkable feature of these figures,‡ considered as works of art, is their distinctive originality of character. In spite of the confident manner in which Dodwell and others, under the influence of the old prejudice, pronounce them to be in the Egyptian style, I could discover no trace of Egyptian design in any portion of the group, nor do the emblems it contains offer a single feature of analogy with those familiar to us on the symbolic monuments of the banks of the Nile. The animals, indeed, have little or nothing of that dry linear stiffness which characterizes the earlier stages of the art of sculpture in almost every country, and present consequently as little resemblance to the archaic style of the Hellenic works of a later period, as to those of Egypt itself. They are, in fact, in a style proper and peculiar to themselves, and which fixes the attention at first sight both by its singularity and grandeur, like the first view of a noble edifice in some altogether new but majestic style of architecture.§

* Lib. vi. c. 11.

† Clarke's *Travels*, pt. ii. sect. 2, p. 706. Gell, *Argolis*, p. 40.

‡ See Plate v., No. 1.

§ Since writing the above, I am happy to observe, that both Leake and Klenze—far more competent judges than either Dodwell, Gell, or Clarke—coincide in this opinion.

The special peculiarities of their execution are a certain solidity and rotundity, amounting to clumsiness, in the limbs, as compared with the bodies. The hind legs indeed, are more like those of elephants than lions; the thighs, especially, are of immense bulk and thickness. This unfavourable feature, however, is compensated by much natural ease and dignity of attitude. The turning of the body and shoulders is admirable, combining strength with elegance in the happiest proportions. The bellies of both are slender in comparison with the rest of the figure, especially of the one on the right of the beholder. The muscles, sinews, and joints, though little detailed, are indicated with much spirit. The finish, both in a mechanical and artistical point of view, is excellent; and in passing the hand over the surface, one is struck with the smooth and easy blending of the masses in every portion of the figure.

Various attempts have been made to explain the mysterious signification of these curious emblems, but with no successful results; owing chiefly to the too prevalent error of wandering into the regions of Egyptian or oriental mysticism, from the far surer path which the native antiquities of Greece supply for the prosecution of such researches. To enter at large upon this question would be foreign to the purpose of our text, and would far exceed the limits of a note. Suffice it to say, that the column or cippus between the animals is the customary symbol of Apollo Agyieus, or Thyræus, the Janus of the Greeks, protector of doors, gates, and public thoroughfares. This emblem is described by the ancients as a round pillar or altar, surmounted by a cone or pyramid, just as it is here represented,* and appears in similar form on the coins of various cities devoted to the worship

* See the numerous authorities *apud* MUELLER, *Dorier.* ii. 6, 5, and ZOEGA *de Obelisc.* p. 210.

of Apollo.* That deity was the patron god of the Argolic states, in his more especial capacity of Lycëus, to which probably the animal on each side of the column may bear reference. Apart from internal evidence, the allusions contained in the Electra of Sophocles and the Agamemnon of Æschylus,† in both of which tragedies the scene is laid in front of this gate, to the sacred symbols with which it was adorned, can leave no doubt on the subject.

* See Comb. *Num. Mus. Brit. Tab.* viii. *fig.* 4, and *Mus. Hunter. Tab.* vi. *Nu.* 6, 7. Copies of these two figures are given in Plate v., Nos. 2, 3.

† Æschyl. *Agam.*, 1078, 1083, 1271. Sophocles, *Electr.*, 1374, *seq.* This passage seems to be parodied in the *Wasps* of Aristophanes, (869, *seq.*) in the invocation of the Agyieus in front of the gate of Philocleon.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

TIRYNS—THE HERÆUM.

ἐλθόντες αὐτοῖς τείχεσιν Κυκλωπίοις,
συναρπάσουσι καὶ κατασκάψουσι γῆν.
EURIP. *Iph. in Aul. v.* 534.

"Upon the very Cyclopean walls,
They plant their gardens and they build their stalls."

THE impression which Tiryns cannot fail to produce on first view, by the grandeur of its ruins, and the interest of the associations attached to them, is enhanced in no small degree by the singularity of its site and plan. This colossal fortress is certainly the greatest curiosity of the kind in existence. It occupies the table summit of an oblong hill, or rather knoll, of small extent or elevation, completely encased in masses of enormous stones, rudely piled in tiers one above another, into the form alternately of towers, curtain walls, abutments, gates, and covered ways.* There is not a fragment in the neighbourhood indicating the existence of suburb or outer town at any period; and the whole, rising abruptly from the dead level of the surrounding plain, produces at a distance an effect very similar to that of the hulk of a large man-of-war floating in a harbour.† Both in the

* The whole length of the fortress is 250 yards; the breadth varies from eighty to fifty. The greatest height of the surface of the hill above the plain is about fifty feet.

† The boldest part of the fortification is the great tower defending

size of the stones, and in the general effect of the galleries, I was disappointed. This I am disposed to attribute, partly, to the exaggeration of the popular drawings of the ruins, through the medium of which both the eye and the imagination are more apt to be influenced than by measurements or descriptions. The deception here alluded to is usually produced by a very simple application, or rather abuse, of the powers of contrast, by which a very moderate-sized cavern or cloister can easily be magnified at once into a cave of Fingal. Close to the object to be enhanced is placed a man, a goat, or some other familiar figure, the natural dimensions of which, if taken as a scale of measurement for the principal object, will increase its apparent size to any desired extent. The same license has been extensively employed in regard to the antiquities of Rome, more especially in the standard works of Piranesi and Rossini; and hence probably the reason why a first view of the forum, and indeed of most of the other remarkable remains of that city, is usually a disappointment.

The object of these galleries—works apparently peculiar to the fortresses of this remote period—is very doubtful. The circumstance that the two principal ranges are constructed, one on each side of the great gate of the place, would seem to imply that its protection was their chief object. Owing to the ruinous state of the fortress at this point, it is not easy to judge in what precise mode their outer issues were contrived; but they were doubtless so constructed as to enable portions of the garrison, from the heart of the fortress, to sally forth

the right flank of the eastern gate; it is also the loftiest piece of wall now standing. It was probably this structure which obtained for the Tirynthians the credit of having been the first inventors of towers.—ARISTOT. *et* THEOPHR. *ap.* PLIN. *H. N.* vii. 56.

unobserved, and take the enemy in the rear at the most critical period of an assault on the gate, or even after its outer defences were in their possession.*

The Tirynthians were celebrated for their laughing propensities, a feature of their character which stands in strange contrast with the gloomy grandeur of their metropolis. To such an extent did this weakness prevail, if we may trust Theophrastus,† as to render them incapable of attention to any serious business. They therefore had recourse to the Delphic oracle for a remedy. The answer of the Pythoness was, to sacrifice a bull to Neptune, casting the victim into the sea, and that, if they could perform the ceremony in serious mood, they would be delivered from their infirmity. In order the better to insure a fortunate issue, all the children were ordered to be kept at a distance. One little fellow, however, managed to make his way unperceived into the crowd, and as they were driving him away, he exclaimed, "Aha! I see you are afraid lest I should swallow up your fat ox." This was too severe a trial of their assumed gravity, and a general burst of merriment was the consequence. Perceiving, as the narrative concludes, that the god had merely taken this way of showing how difficult it is for a people to change their natural disposition, they continued to laugh on as before; until, it may be presumed, a stop was put to their gibes and jests, on the destruction of their own city by the Argives, and their removal to the less mirth-inspiring atmosphere of that of their conquerors.

Count Capo d'Istria entertained, and in part carried into effect, the project of converting the ground enclosed by these venerable ruins into an experimental farm, which was to form the centre of an extensive agricultural

* See additional note at the end of the volume.

† *Ap.* ATHEN. *Deipn.* vi. c. 79, p. 261, D. *seq.*

establishment. The interior esplanades are still divided into beds or compartments, set apart for the culture of cotton, carrots, potatoes, &c. Few spots of ground could have been selected of a nature apparently less adapted to such a purpose, partly owing to the accumulation of stones and rubbish on its surface, partly to the impossibility of irrigation, which in this climate one would suppose indispensable to the success of any such undertaking. It is to be feared, therefore, that there may be some truth in the imputation thrown out by persons unfriendly to the late President, that the real object which dictated his choice was the opportunity afforded, with less risk of observation or odium than might otherwise have been incurred, for quarrying materials from these Cyclopian masses for the house and court of offices erected by him hard by on the plain below. The consequence has been the dilapidation of the larger galleries on the left of the great southern gate of entrance, with a considerable extent of the contiguous wall; portions of the work which, in the plans and descriptions of the old travellers, are represented as in tolerable preservation. The gallery that still remains in its former state of integrity, is said to have been indebted for its escape to its convenience as a cowhouse or sheepfold.

In spite of these spirited agricultural enterprizes, the land in the neighbourhood of the ruins displays no great symptoms of improved cultivation beyond the remainder of the plain. The only visible fruits of the civilized Vandalism of their author is a square villa, or large farm-house, several stories high, surrounded by a range of low sheds. The whole of these edifices are constructed of the usual rubble masonry, for the materials of which the great blocks of the fortress were broken into small pieces; they are all crowned with formal red tile roofs of dazzling brightness, and all falling rapidly into the

same state of decay as their Cyclopian neighbour, from whose carcass they derive their origin. The contrast between ancient semi-barbarous splendour and modern utilitarian meanness, can hardly be more strikingly displayed, than by the juxtaposition of these two specimens of Hellenic architecture. I was, however, favoured with a still more practical illustration. While wandering along the summit of the esplanade, immediately above the farm, I was startled by a sudden crash, like the emptying of a heavy cart-load of stones, and, looking in the direction of the sound, perceived a cloud of dust issuing from one of the outbuildings. As it cleared off, I saw that the roof had fallen in. There was the more cause for alarm, as my equipage had put up on the premises. On enquiry, however, I found that there had been no damage of life, the building fortunately having been empty at the moment, as indeed seemed to be the case with the greater part of the neighbouring structures. The catastrophe was owing to no other cause but the natural progress of decay, which, in Tirynthian architecture, it must be admitted, has been considerably accelerated since the days of the Cyclopians.

THE HERÆUM.

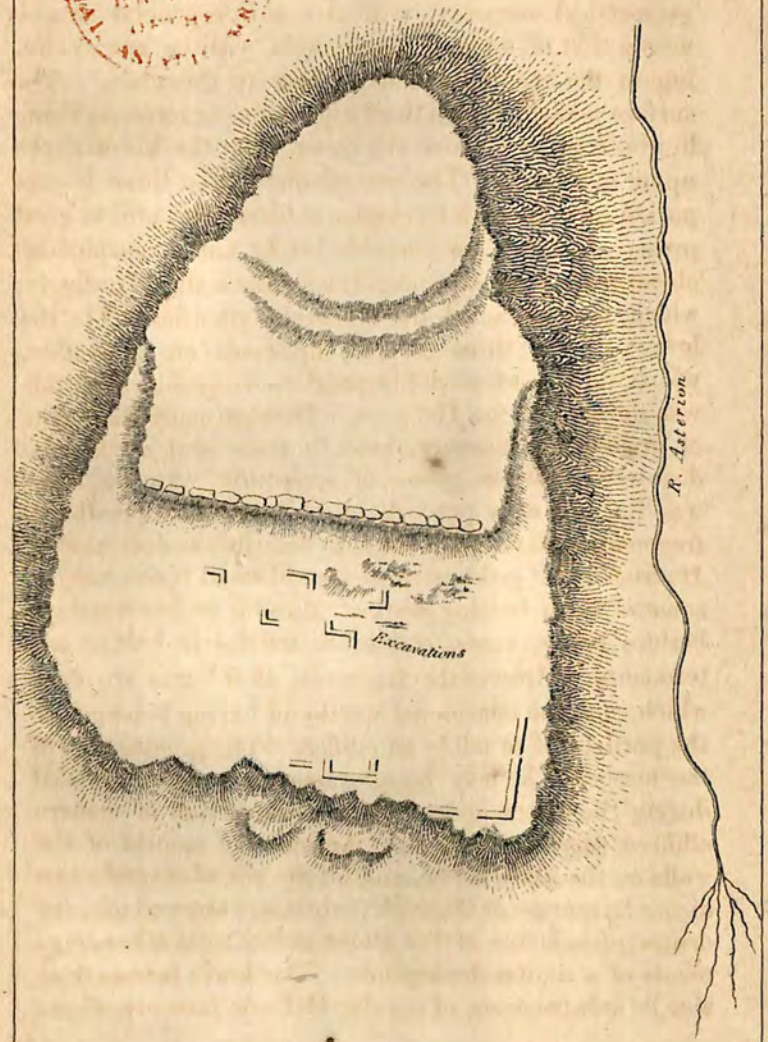
It was not until after my arrival at Athens that I learned that the site of the Heræum, or temple of Juno Argiva, perhaps the most important sanctuary of ancient Greece, after those of Olympia and Delphi, and hence so long, so anxiously, and so vainly sought for by travellers, had been discovered by General Gordon, several years before. It would seem as if fortune had amused herself in baffling the efforts of the curious to establish this point of classical topography. Pausanias has de-

scribed the position of the sanctuary with his usual exactness, specifying several features of local peculiarity, of such a nature as almost to guide the antiquary by the hand in his researches; and which are to this day easily identified with existing appearances. Even the remaining fragments of the structure are calculated to attract the attention of the passenger from a considerable distance. And yet, although ever since the geography of ancient Hellas has seriously occupied the attention of the European public, each successive visitor has spent, if we may trust their own accounts, a considerable time in roaming in quest of it, with Pausanias in his hand, around the very spot where it is placed by that author, it has eluded the observation of them all. The General, who at the period of the discovery had already been for some time in command of the district, assured me, that the various excursions he had made for the express purpose of exploring its remains, had been equally unsuccessful, and that at last he had only stumbled upon them by accident while on a shooting party, and no way occupied with archæological research.

Pausanias* describes the Heræum as situated at the distance of fifteen stadia from Mycenæ, to the left of the route between that city and Argos, on the lower declivities of a mountain called Eubœa; and adds, that below the sanctuary flowed a river called the Asterion, which, falling into an abyss, disappeared. These details are all verified on the ground explored by General Gordon. It is a rocky height, rising in somewhat insulated form, from the base of one of the highest mountains that bound the plain toward the east, distant about two English miles from Mycenæ, which corresponds nearly to the fifteen stadia of Pausanias—about three-fourths of a mile to the left of the road leading from the khan of

* *Cor.* xvii.

HERÆUM.



J. Hetherington Lithog

Karváta to Nauplia, and by consequence considerably further in the same direction from that leading from Karváta to Argos. The form of this eminence, of which the accompanying sketch, without any pretensions to geometrical accuracy, will give a fair general idea, is nearly that of an isosceles triangle, with its apex pointing to the mountain and its base to the plain. The surface is divided into three esplanades or terraces, rising in gradation one above the other, from the lower to the upper extremity. The central one of the three is supported by a massive Cyclopian substruction, still in good preservation, to a considerable height, and a conspicuous object from some distance. It was this wall, accordingly, which first attracted the General's attention. On the lowest of the three terraces he made an excavation, which fully confirmed his previous suspicion that this was the site of the Heræum. Besides many fragments of ornamental masonry, both in stone and marble, he disinterred various pieces of sculpture. Among these was the tail of a peacock in white marble, possibly a fragment of that which Pausanias describes as dedicated by Hadrian to the goddess, with several small votive images, some of them bearing distinct allusion to her worship; besides lamps, vases, and other articles in bronze and terracotta. Among the fragments of columns are none which could be considered worthy of having belonged to the porticos of so noble an edifice. The greater part of the masonry, it may be presumed, has been removed during the lower ages, for the construction of modern edifices, sacred or profane. Around the mouths of the wells on the plain below, and on the site of several ruins of the Byzantine or Turkish periods, are strewed massive drums of columns of the Doric order, with other fragments of a similar description. The lower terrace had also its substructions of regular Hellenic masonry, form-

ing a breastwork to the base of the triangle towards the plain. The excavation was conducted at the General's own cost, and upon a limited scale; but, to judge by its success, were it to be followed up on a more extended plan, it could not fail to be productive of valuable results.

The length of the surface of the hill may be about two hundred and fifty yards; its greatest breadth about half its length. It is protected on its eastern flank by steep precipices, beneath which is the bed of a small torrent descending from the mountain behind, as indicated by Pausanias. It was completely dry at this time; but by examination of the ground, I satisfied myself of the correctness of his statement, that its waters, even when plentiful, are engulfed or rather absorbed in the earth, at a small distance from the sanctuary; for the traces of its bed, as it approaches the plain, gradually disappear altogether, without leaving a symptom of possible communication with the sea or any of the larger streams of the district. The fact is, however, that the fate of the Asterion is common to all or most of the small torrents flowing from the mountains that surround the Argolic plain. They are all drunk up by the thirsty soil, on quitting their rocky beds for the deep arable land. This fact offers a palpable explanation of the epithet "very thirsty,"* applied by Homer to the land of Argos; as also of the fable of the fifty nymphs, daughters of Danaus,† condemned perpetually to pour water into a tub full of holes. Accordingly we find that the name assigned to one of these unfortunate maidens, Asteris,‡ is essentially the same as that of the stream below the Heræum.

* πολυδίψιον.

† The etymology of the name Danaus—from ΔΑΝΟΣ, *aridus*—dry or parched—here also naturally suggests itself.

‡ Apollod. ii. 1, 5.

In further evidence of the accuracy of this interpretation of the fable, we may appeal to the case of Amymone, the only one of the fifty who was exempted from the laborious task. This nymph is described, in addition to that privilege, as having been presented by Neptune, in reward of her favours, with the fine perennial stream bearing her own name, at the southern extremity of the Argolic plain; and which, gushing in one copious body of water from the foot of the neighbouring mountain, forms in its way to the sea a portion of the Lernæan marsh. In other accounts it is said, that the honour was conferred on her as a reward for her services, in bearing water for the supply of the city of Argos, during a season of drought.*

Pausanias, after describing the sanctuary as it existed in his time, adds: that "the foundations, and whatever else remained of the more ancient temple," (destroyed by fire B. C. 423,)† "were still visible above the existing edifice." Hence it may be conjectured, that the Cyclopian wall now remaining is a substruction of the old building, which must consequently have been situated on the central terrace, while the site of the new temple and its dependencies was limited to the lower esplanade. This is the opinion adopted by General Gordon, on the strength of which he was led by preference to excavate on the lower level; and it seems to be confirmed both by the result of his researches, and by the difference in the style of the retaining walls by which the two terraces are respectively supported. The upper one of the two betrays a high period of antiquity, while the other is evidently of later date. The situation of the new build-

* Apollod. *Bibl.* ii. 1, 4. Lucian. *Dial. Mor.* vi. Hygin. *Fab.* 169.

† Conf. Thucyd. iv. c. 133.

ing would thus have been far from favourable, at the lower extremity of a long irregular declivity, by the upper ridges of which it was both confined and commanded.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

ARGOS—NAUPLIA.

ἔχει τίν' ὄγκον Ἄργος Ἑλλήνων πάρα.
EURIP. *Phœn.* v. 664.

"Some fame hath Argos in Hellenic lore."

ARGOS has never in modern times presented many or important objects of interest to the antiquary; but the devastations to which it was subjected during the war, if they have not supplied, as in some other cases, additional matter for his researches, have at least not deprived him of any that previously existed. This place, indeed, affords a pointed illustration of the remark already made on the extraordinary manner in which the remnants of primitive antiquity stand their ground, amid the successive destructions, renovations, and redestructions, of the modern edifices with which they are connected. Every stone or brick of ancient masonry described by Dodwell, Gell, or Leake, is, I think I may safely say, still in its place, although since their time the town has been three times sacked and destroyed, and the greater part of its area is to this day, as in most other cities of Greece, a mass of ruins. Among the new structures, however, are some houses of better appearance than are to be seen in any other town, with the exception of Athens.

The venerable Larissa, an insulated conical mountain of nine hundred feet in height, with steep rocky sides, diversified with grassy slopes, though not equal in ma-

jesty to the Acrocorinthus, is yet a grand and a picturesque object from every point of view. As a fortress it is for the present abandoned, and the fine old Gothic castle on its summit is in ruins. The walls of this building, a remnant of the Frank dynasty of the middle ages, rest for the most part on old substructions; whence it would appear that the Hellenic, like the modern citadel, consisted of an outer wall or rampart, with an inner keep or castle, preserving nearly the same plan and foundation at every period. The masonry of the ancient parts of the building is solely or chiefly in the more regular polygonal style. There are, however, considerable vestiges of other lines of wall, of massive Cyclopian structure, on the sides and base of the hill connecting the citadel with the lower town.

Two of the largest stones of one of these fragments, at the base of the hill, in the neighbourhood of the theatre, are each sculptured with tablets containing emblems apparently of a choragic character, with mutilated inscriptions, in which names resembling Cratilas and Dionysius may still be decyphered. Gell, in an engraving of this fragment among his specimens of Argolic masonry, has transformed one of the tablets into something very like the hieroglyphic title of an Egyptian king, with two figures of deities squatting opposite each other in the usual attitude, one of which has its head crowned with the horns of Isis. Were this a faithful representation of the group, the monument would assume a very interesting character, connecting itself so obviously with the fables of Egyptian settlement in Argos. But the liveliest imagination could hardly discover a trace of resemblance between his drawing and the original.

The great theatre excavated on the rocky slope of the Larissa, and the smaller tiers of seats in the neigh-

bourhood to the westward, probably belonging to another lesser theatre, together with the brick ruins of the Roman period, and the Byzantine church on the plain below, are all very much in the state described by Leake. On the face of the rocks round the back and sides of the theatre, are several other small sculptured compartments that have escaped the notice of travellers. They are in low relief, of rude execution, and for the most part much effaced. One represents a man leading a horse. Upon another may be distinguished a figure standing by the side of a couch or bier, on which a human body is extended.

I sought in vain for the archaic inscription* copied by Dodwell and others from a stone of the polygonal wall of the Larissa. Both my Argive and Athenian authorities described it as still in existence, but could give no exact indication of the spot. The unfavourable state of the weather, a drizzling rain and thick fog, during the few hours I spent on the summit, rendered a personal search round the base of the outer walls so dangerous, that I was obliged to abandon it; as a roll from top to bottom of the hill, which would have been the probable consequence of a false step, could hardly have failed to be attended with loss either of life or limb.

Nauplia, the ancient port of Argos, is distant about two hours' drive from the metropolitan city. It now contains little to interest the classical tourist, and as it rained without intermission during the half day we spent within its walls, my opportunities of appreciating even that little were but limited. One object of our visit was to purchase arms, it having been decided by Nicóla that some such precaution was necessary for our defence against the "maledetti pastori;" for he still persisted in laying all the acts of brigandage of which we had yet

* *Boeckh. Tom.* i. *Pt.* 1. *Nu.* 2.

obtained—or were likely to obtain—either knowledge or experience, at the door of this class of society alone; and as a considerable portion of the remainder of our route lay through Arcadia, the pastoral district of Europe by pre-eminence, our case was proportionally the more serious. Argos, celebrated in Pindar's time* among the cities of Greece for its military cutlery, could not furnish any weapon of defence; we therefore determined to try the shops of Nauplia. It is considered more prudent not to travel armed in these countries, where danger is apprehended from professional brigands, unless indeed the caravan be formidable in number as well as equipment. The display of defensive measures by a small company, while it implies that their baggage is valuable, and in so far increases the temptation to assault, is at the same time an additional inducement to the robbers to provide for their own safety, by shooting the proprietors from their ambush, before laying hands on the goods. Upon Nicóla's view of the matter, however, the precaution was more feasible; since the class of persons against whom alone he considered protection to be necessary, seldom carry any other weapon than their clubs and knives, with which it was not supposed they would venture to assault a party of well armed travellers. He had engaged for the prosecution of our journey the services of a Naupliote agoghiate, an old acquaintance, whom he described as a spirited lad who would prove a valiant comrade in any case of emergency; and if provided with a pistol a-piece, his proposal was, that the next time we were called upon to stop we should obey, and await the approach of the enemy, and he seemed to anticipate much amusement at their disappointment on meeting with so unexpected a reception, and perhaps some credit from the capture of one or two

* *Frag. op.* ATHENÆUM, L. i. p. 28, A.

of the delinquents. But after examining the best hardware shops the place contained, without finding any weapon on which reliance could be placed, while for such as were to be had enormous prices were demanded, we gave up the project entirely. I was upon the whole well satisfied with the result, being neither so apprehensive of danger from the pastoral brigands, nor so martially disposed towards them as my companion; and was rather inclined to prefer the plan of taking military escort, wherever we found from the local authorities that there was any serious ground to suspect the security of the route. This plan my attendant held in great dislike, partly as being derogatory to our personal prowess, partly owing to the expense or delay in which it might involve us. I had not, however, come to Greece in quest of heroic adventures of my own, but for the purpose of examining, with as much ease and security as the state of the country would admit, the localities where they had formerly been achieved.

Nauplia has more the air of a *real* town than any place now existing in Greece under that title; having contiguous lines of houses and streets, and offering, upon the whole, much the appearance of a second-rate Italian seaport. It is indeed probable, that many of its buildings date from the period of the Venetian occupation. Owing to a concurrence of favourable circumstances, although it occasionally changed hands during the war, it was never sacked or destroyed; and as trade revived in its port, many of the ruined or decayed edifices have been gradually replaced by others of a more substantial description. In this way the old Turkish houses have disappeared, with the exception of a few in the upper part of the town, of a very picturesque structure, and offering with their arched windows, balconies, and some ornamental tracery, good specimens of the Byzantine or Saracenic style

of architecture. The substructions of the ancient Acronauplia, now the lower citadel of the place under the Turkish name of Itschkali, exhibit some fine specimens of polygonal masonry, the only remnants of classical antiquity of which the town can boast. The advantages of its position seem to have been but little appreciated by the ancients, with whom it was at all periods a place of secondary importance, a mere appendage of Argos. At a comparatively early period it went to decay, and was completely deserted in the days of Pausanias.

The upper citadel is one of the strongest fortresses in Europe, as well from its natural advantages, as from the lines of defence with which it was surrounded by the Venetians. It is now known even in inveterate vulgar usage by the highly poetical name of Palamidi. No trace of such a title occurs in the page of any ancient writer as belonging to a locality of the Argolis. It connects itself however, so obviously, with that of the celebrated Naupliote hero Palamedes, that it may very naturally be supposed to represent the original appellative of his native mountain. It has, accordingly, been quoted by Leake among the instances where modern tradition has preserved genuine old Greek names, unnoticed by Greek authors. The fortress however, if I do not err, is an original work of the Venetians, undertaken at a period when classical literature was in a very flourishing state in Italy. Unless, therefore, the name can be traced back with certainty to an epoch prior to the Venetian occupation, it may perhaps with better reason be conjectured, that some classic-minded commander, or state commissary of the republic, had baptized their new citadel with the name of the local hero, so celebrated in his own time for his talents as a military engineer.

At Nauplia, I had the pleasure of making the acquaintance of Mr Masson, a Scottish gentleman, who some

years ago acted as attorney-general to the Greek government. He conducted the prosecution against Kolokotroni for treason in 1834, and astonished the natives by pleading for four hours in their own tongue with great fluency and eloquence. He had since retired from office; and was engaged in editing a small periodical, tending to the moral and political improvement of the people, to whose service he has devoted his time and talents with so much disinterested philanthropy.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

LERNÆAN HYDRA—PYRAMID OF ERASINUS—ARCADIA—TRIPOLIZZA—GRÆCO-BAVARIAN HOSPITALITY.

ἀλλ' ἔξελθε πρὸς Λέρνης βαθὺν
λειμῶνα. ÆSCHYLUS, *Prom.* 652.

"Come, let's explore the deep Lernæan marsh."

ON the morning of Monday the 2d of April, we took the route of Tripolizza on our way to Sparta. I was provided by General Gordon with circulars to the different authorities, and with a private letter to Lieutenant Morandi, commandant of the gendarmerie of the Tripolitan district, a Modenese refugee, and a personal friend of his chief. The road to Tripolizza was considered secure; but the General advised me, on arrival there, to be guided by Morandi as to the propriety of taking escort in the prosecution of our journey. Our track lay along the upper part of the plain, below the heights that bound it to the westward, leaving to the left the extensive Lernæan marsh, which forms its southern extremity. Our equipage was the best, at least in appearance, that we had yet met with, and my own horse was provided with the luxury of a good saddle, the first I had bestridden on a Greek road, except on the excursion from Athens to Marathon. Nor did the character of our agoghiate belie Nicóla's description. He was a tall handsome active young fellow, full of life and spirits, and exceedingly good-humoured and obliging. After about an hour's

ride we reach the sources of the Erasinus, now called the Kephalári. This fine stream, issuing at once in a large body of clear water from a cavern in the base of Mount Chaon, turns numerous mills in its course through the plain to the sea, being distributed a little below its source into a variety of channels for that purpose.

The curiosity of this marshy district, chiefly dwelt on by Pausanias and other ancient topographers, as possessing the strongest claim to be considered the former abode of the Lernæan Hydra, was a bottomless pool called Halcyone, in the neighbourhood of which flowed a river bearing the name of Lerne. Both these objects have been identified by travellers in the vicinity of another group of mills, nearer the sea-shore, at the furthest extremity of the plain, and distant about two miles from the Kephalári, whence a road leading to them branches off to the left. Neither Nicóla nor the agoghiate seemed to have any clear idea of the general site of the localities; but no sooner did the latter hear me mention the bottomless pool, than he at once declared his acquaintance with it, and broke out into energetic declamation on its wonders. This appeared a sufficient guarantee of his qualifications as cicerone, and I accordingly put myself under his guidance. I proceeded on horseback, while he ran before on foot, leaving Nicóla at the fountain in charge of the other beasts till our return.

For about half a mile we threaded our way through the line of mills, crossing and recrossing the water-leads, which, though in some places of considerable depth, my horse forded without difficulty, while my companion dodged and skipped backwards and forwards with wonderful alertness, in search of bridges or stepping-stones. At length, finding that these manœuvres involved delay, he denuded himself of all clothing below his fustanella, which he tucked up round his thighs, and then took the

lead himself, wading through the fords in front of my beast. Our appearance and motions excited, as may be supposed, a good deal of sensation among the groups of females engaged in washing along the banks, and still more among the dogs, through whom we had to fight our way with more than ordinary exercise of prowess. On gaining the open country towards the sea, we continued to follow the course of the river, by a track running along the summit and sides of the embankment by which its waters are here confined; their level being apparently higher than that of the surrounding morass. As our route was still on the left bank of the stream, and in a direction very different from that in which I knew the southern mills to be situated, I began to suspect there was some misunderstanding. Soon after, my guide quitted the dry path on the dyke, and turned sharp to the left across the marsh, which, although exhibiting here and there traces of a rice or cotton crop of the past season, was yet in many places rather deserving the name of a lake; the stagnant water reaching above my horse's fetlock joints, with deep pools and ditches at intervals. My suspicions were now turned into conviction, that I had set out on a fool's errand; but having once embarked on the adventure, I determined to see it to its issue. My companion beckoned to me to follow him in a direction offering the most favourable appearances of terra firma. But after we had proceeded about a hundred yards, happening to miss the precise track, partly from its indistinctness, partly from the intractability of my beast, who seemed to forebode some disaster, a sudden plunge precipitated us both into the ditch by which it was bounded. Had I fallen under the animal, the consequences might have been fatal, as the depth of the water, combined with the narrowness of the bed of the ditch, would have rendered it difficult to extricate

myself. I managed, however, by an instinctive spring at the moment of the plunge, to alight with my hands and body on the inner bank; so that I escaped at the expense of a general wetting and filthifying of my person, and the complete soaking of its lower parts considerably above the knees. On gaining my legs, the ludicrous element of the adventure got the better of all other feelings for the moment, and forced from me a hearty laugh, in which my companion, who at first looked distressed and alarmed, as if conscious of being the primary cause of the misfortune, cordially joined. The next point was to extricate my steed, of which nothing but the head and fore legs were visible over the brink of the ditch, to all appearance as bottomless as the pool we were in quest of. I had managed, in disengaging myself, to retain hold of the bridle, and by this means kept above water the head of the poor animal, who, with his paws clinging to the bank, and his hinder parts writhing in uncouth contortions in the gulf below, presented a most piteous, as well as comical appearance. With some difficulty we succeeded in dragging him out, and, wiping the saddle, I remounted, determined, after all the sacrifices I had made, not to be disappointed of my ultimate reward. After proceeding more cautiously another hundred yards into the heart of the morass, my companion stopped at a large circular pool of clear water, surrounded by lofty bulrushes, from whence the neighbouring ditches seemed to diverge, like the leads from a decoy-pond. This he pointed out, with much self-satisfaction, as the object of our researches. We then turned, and retraced our steps in safety to the Kephalári.

Although disappointed of the object I had in view, it is very probable that this expedition gave me as clear an idea of the true spirit of the mythical topography of the district as could have been obtained by a visit to the

real lake of Halcyone. The pool my companion showed me seemed to be the largest of numerous copious springs, or natural wells, which abound in this extremity of the Argive plain, and, together with the streams that intersect it, tend to maintain its marshy character, and to baffle or bewilder every attempt made since the days of Hercules to drain its surface. The lake Halcyone, in the neighbourhood of the maritime mills, appears, from the description of travellers, to be but another larger pool of similar nature, and it is probable that the pretensions of my honest friend Dimitri's abyss to a bottomless character, are as well founded in fact, if not in ancient tradition, as those of its larger and more celebrated neighbour; while the general features of the ground, and its position in the more immediate centre of the marshes, render it perhaps, in the true spirit of the fable, the more appropriate haunt of the two for the Lernæan Hydra. How obviously many of these legends concerning the exploits of Hercules interpret themselves, by reference to the struggles of infant agricultural enterprize against local obstacles, we have already seen in the case of that hero's combats with Acheloüs and Nessus; and the illustrations above offered of the legend of the Danaidæ, show how much fables of a similar character were in vogue in Argive tradition. The victory of Hercules over the fifty-headed watersnake, can therefore only be understood of a successful attempt of the ancient lords of the Argive plain to bring its marshy extremity into cultivation, by draining its sources and embanking its streams, however frequently baffled by their number and pertinacity. The restriction of the name Lerna, as the abode of the Hydra, to one distant corner of the morass, is probably but a caprice of the later mythology, originating, perhaps, in the greater size or beauty of the pools in that particular part, or the

PYRAMID NEAR ARGOS.

greater distinction of the neighbouring district, as the seat of a sanctuary of Ceres, around which were concentrated various other popular superstitions.*

Well satisfied with my actual experience of the malignant powers of the monster, I felt the less disposed to devote any more time to an encounter with its remaining heads. I therefore abandoned my previous plan of a visit to the maritime mills, and, changing my lower garments, proceeded in quest of the

PYRAMID OF THE ERASINUS.

The connexion between Egypt and the Argolis, so celebrated in Greek tradition, in whatever mode it may have been formed, appears to derive support from the existence on the soil of the latter country, of several sepulchral monuments of very remote antiquity, in a style which, above all others, we are in the habit of associating with the banks of the Nile, and of which there are no extant examples in any other part of Greece. The best preserved of these pyramids is that which I now visited and examined. Another, in a more ruinous state, is described by Gell,† on the road between Nauplia and Epidaurus; and a third, no longer existing, is mentioned by Pausanias,‡ on that between Argos and Tiryns.

* Paus. *Cor.* xxxvi.

† Gell, *Itinerary of Greece,* (Argolis,) p. 102.

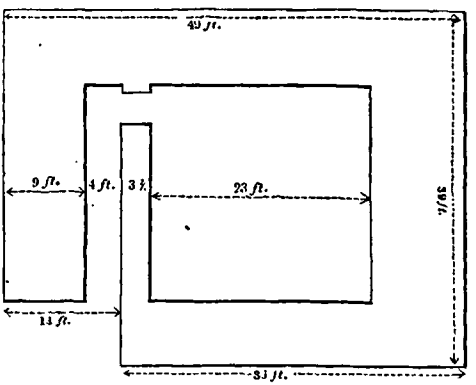
‡ *Corinth.* xxv. It is also a coincidence worth noticing, that Danaus is reported to have landed near the southern extremity of the Argive plain, at a place called Pyramia, although its exact situation seems to have been further down the coast, in the Thyrean territory. (Plutarch in *Pyrrho.* c. 32. Pausan. *Cor.* c. 38.) Possibly the existence of another pyramid in that neighbourhood may have suggested the tradition.

The pyramid of the Erasinus* occupies the summit of a rocky eminence, itself somewhat of a pyramidal form, among the lower declivities of Mount Chaon, which here bounds the Lernæan plain to the westward. It is situated about half a mile to the right of the traveller, when he has proceeded nearly double that distance from the Kephalári, along the road towards Tripolizza. We reached it, however, by a path branching off from the Kephalári in its own direction. I was fortunate in finding a native who knew the ruin, and recognised it from my description, otherwise I might have passed it unnoticed; for neither Nicóla nor the agoghiate had ever seen or heard of it, and although so near the direct road, it is concealed from the view of the passenger by intervening acclivities.

The masonry of this edifice is of an intermediate style between the Cyclopian and polygonal, consisting of large irregular blocks, with a tendency, however, to quadrangular forms and horizontal courses; the inequalities being, as usual, filled up with smaller pieces. The largest stones may be from four to five feet in length, and from two to three in thickness. There are traces of mortar between the stones, which ought, perhaps, to be assigned rather to subsequent repairs than to the original workmanship. The symmetry of the structure is not strictly preserved, being interrupted by a rectangular recess cutting off one corner of the building. In this angle there is a doorway, consisting of two perpendicular side walls, surmounted by an open gable or Gothic arch, formed by horizontal layers of masonry converging into an apex, as in the triangular opening above the Gate of Lions and "Treasury of Atreus." This door gives access to a passage between two walls. At its extremity on the right hand is another doorway,

* See Plate vi.

of which little or nothing of the masonry is preserved, opening into the interior chamber or vault.*



There is much reason to believe that these Argive pyramids are monuments of the same primitive school of art as the Gate of Lions and Royal Sepulchres of Mycenæ. Tradition assigned that mentioned by Pausanias to the heroic age. He describes it as the tomb of those who fell in a battle between Prœtus of Tiryns and Acrisius of Argos; nor is there any reason to doubt, from Gell's description, of the remote antiquity of the one observed by him.

In crossing the open country to rejoin the lower road to Tripolizza, we pass a square Cyclopian foundation,

* The drawings of this building, both in LEAKE's *Morea*, (vol. ii. p. 339,) and in COCKERELL's *Inedited Antiquities*, are inaccurate, and convey a very false impression of its masonry. In the former work the order is represented as polygonal, of very mean style, and the stones not half the size of those of the original. In the latter it assumes a regular Hellenic character. In the subjoined sketch of its principal front, (plate vi.,) I have been careful to assign every stone its exact form and proportions—a precaution absolutely necessary to convey any just impression of these various styles of ancient masonry.

which may be the base of another pyramid, or possibly the remains of the wall alluded to by Pausanias, as enclosing the place at which Pluto descended with Proserpine into the infernal regions.* From hence, after traversing a wild heath, we begin to ascend Mount Artemisium, by a line of carriage road skilfully engineered in curves and zigzags along the steep sides of the mountain, in the style—to compare small things with great—of a Mont Cenis or a Splügen. The surface for a good many miles is marked out, levelled, and in many places supported by lofty retaining walls. There is no practicable carriage road from Argos to the foot of this ascent; while, towards the other side of the mountain, that which here exists gradually dwindles into a horse-track or a torrent-bed. For the present, therefore, being inaccessible from either end, with a surface ungarnished by solid material, and in many places offering so spungy and insecure footing to a horse that the old bridle-track still remains the safer, as well as the more expeditious route for the equestrian traveller, the work may be pronounced little better than useless. There are indeed few points between which an improvement in the line of communication would be a more proper enterprize than between Argos, or rather Nauplia, and Tripolizza; the one the chief port on this side of Peloponnesus, the other the Mediterranean metropolis of the whole district. But it were surely much more judicious to have completed the two extremities, before breaking ground in the centre. A good carriage road from Nauplia by Argos to the Mills, through a comparatively flourishing district, were in itself a great advantage, even without any prospect of its further continuance. But an insulated piece of causeway over the summit of an uninhabited mountain, where no carriage exists or can find access, and which, for want

* *Corinth.* xxxvii.

of either traffic or repair, is rapidly falling into decay, seems a somewhat unprofitable waste of the funds of the infant state.* Pausanias describes the ancient carriage road over this whole rugged district, between Argos and Tegea, as remarkably commodious.†

On gaining the summit of the pass, the road winds for several miles among the upper ridges of the mountain, through an open wild country. At about a third of the distance between Argos and Tripolizza, it crosses some lines of Cyclopian foundation, indicating the site of a small fort or polis, possibly of Cenchreæ, mentioned by Pausanias, where was the tumulus of the Argives slain in the battle of Hysiæ, in which they defeated the Lacedæmonians.‡ In a little dell immediately beyond, are vestiges of a temple, or perhaps of a Christian church composed of ancient materials. Two small columns of Cipollino are standing, but not apparently in their original position. Five or six miles beyond these ruins, on a green rocky height to the left, are those of Hysiæ, now Achladókampo, offering but a few foundations of Cyclopian walls. To the right is a stunted grove of ilex, overshadowing a modern cemetery.

A little further on, in a deep dell, is the khan where we stop to refresh. Distant about a mile up the steep side of the mountain which overhangs it, is a village embedded in evergreens, olives, ilex, and cypress—a beautiful spot, the first I had seen in Greece possessing any claim to admiration on the score of similar charms. The houses scattered over the declivity, with their gables facing the valley, have an elegant effect; and judging

* The chief object of this undertaking was probably to secure the military command of the country; and perhaps the line of route, even in its present state, may be calculated to facilitate the passage of troops, or the transport of artillery, over these rugged steeps.

† *Arcad.* liv. ‡ *Corinth.* xxv.

from this distance, the place would seem to have escaped, doubtless from its sequestered situation, the ravages of the war. The nakedness of the towns and villages of Greece is, upon the whole, the most serious blot on the surface of her otherwise beautiful landscape. There is a sad falling off in this respect since the Turkish times, as may be seen by a comparison of the drawings or descriptions of Thebes, Argos, Athens, Corinth, in the works of the last generation of travellers, with the appearance they now present. Many of these places, now so bare and dreary, seem then to have combined on a more extensive scale the graces I admired in this little mountain hamlet. The war, no doubt, is the original cause of the change; yet the fault must now be in a great measure attributed to want of industry or taste for ornamental gardening on the part of the present lords of the soil, as compared with the old Turkish aristocracy; for although ten years of freedom and comparative tranquillity have elapsed, scarcely a symptom can be discovered of any effort to relieve the general nakedness of their dwelling-places by plantation of any kind, whether for shelter or ornament.

On quitting the khan, we descend, cross a green valley, and again mount a lofty precipitous ridge on the other side. This height is the ancient Parthenium, where Pan, to whom it was consecrated, announced to the Athenian courier Philippides the successful result of the battle of Marathon.* It still bears the name of Parthéni, (the virgin,) derived, as the modern Greeks believe, from a church dedicated to Saint Mary, which, however, no longer exists to confirm their etymology. To the left, along the brow of a lofty precipice, above which several eagles were soaring majestically, are extensive lines of ruined wall, apparently of lower Greek

* Pausan. *Att.* xxviii.; *Arcad.* liv.

or Turkish masonry. Near the summit of the pass are the remains of a paved causeway, and of a Turkish fountain by its side. Soon after we descend, when the road turns to the right, and the plain of Tripolizza or Tegea opens on the view, presenting a wide extent of naked arable land, the richer portion of which seemed in a tolerable state of cultivation. We now enter upon another stretch of several miles of well-made road, reaching from the base of the hills to the city, but as yet apparently unfurrowed by wheel of any kind. Owing to the great elevation of this plain above the level of the sea, the mountains by which it is surrounded, though not less lofty in reality, are less so to the eye than those which bound the champaign country of Attica, Bœotia, or Argolis; hence, upon the whole, the first view of Arcadia is but little in unison with our classical associations, where this retired pastoral district occupies the same place in relation to Greece, as Switzerland to the rest of Europe.

The evening was gloomy, and the dreary aspect of the landscape was but little relieved by the appearance of the dismal-looking town in the distance. As usual, I had ridden in advance of our party, and a cold wind springing up induced me to force out of my animal the fastest jog-trot of which a Greek hack is capable, so that I soon lost sight of them altogether. On approaching Tripolizza, however, I slackened my pace, to enable them to overtake me. But seeing no appearance of them as far back as the eye could stretch over the plain, I proceeded alone into the town in quest of my host Morandi's quarters. The street of entrance has a very respectable appearance, being broad, straight, and level, and well garnished on each side with houses, for the most part of two stories; but not a living creature was to be seen on its surface. Observing, however, at a

balcony an officer in the Græco-Bavarian uniform, whom, from his complexion and appearance, I presumed to be a native of Germany, I saluted him in the language of his country, with a request to be directed to the quarters of Lieutenant Morandi. He immediately came down and accompanied me to the lodging of that gentleman, who, however, was from home, supposed to be out visiting, and not likely to return till late. But my German friend, to whose cordial hospitality, apart from the ordinary claims of a traveller under such circumstances, my knowledge of his country and language was an immediate passport, insisted on my taking up my quarters with him, to which I readily consented. As his house faced the street, we set a watch to observe the entry of Nicóla and his detachment, which did not take place until a full hour after my own. The baggage horse, it appeared, had fallen amiss on the road soon after I quitted them, which had been the cause of the delay.

My host, I found, was staff-surgeon to the garrison, an honest open-hearted Suabian. His dwelling and fare were homely enough; but he gave me the best of what he had, and freedom from filth and vermin were now luxuries far surpassing all the delights of a first-rate Paris or London hotel. We soon became better acquainted, partly through the medium of a bottle of rum, which I generally carried with me to mix with water as my beverage at meals. This is the only species of foreign, or consequently of drinkable aquavitæ, to be found in this country, but the bazar of every town supplies it abundantly. The Greek wine, although in its genuine state it appears to be generally of fine quality, is strongly impregnated with rosin or turpentine, which, added to the taste of the skin, renders it unpalatable to the uninitiated. I found some difficulty in ascertaining the object of this practice, nor indeed would it be easy to

trace it back to its origin, being of very remote antiquity, and familiarly alluded to by the ancients.* The mixture is said to favour the preservation of the liquor, and may at the first have been resorted to with this object; but what was originally a matter of utility is now become one of taste, and the wine is not palatable to the natives in its unalloyed state. I never could relish it at meals, but found a draught of it pleasant enough on the march when hot and thirsty; and it has something tart and pungent which renders it perhaps at the moment the more refreshing. The after-taste, however, was always offensive, although it became less so upon each successive experiment. Hence I can readily understand how foreigners, as I observed to be the case, acquire a taste for it after long residence in the country; and the Bavarians like it, because, as they say, it puts them in mind of their own Suabian beer. To return, however, to the bottle of rum; a neighbouring shop supplied lemons, my host's establishment sugar and a jug of hot water, so we made ourselves punch, and had a very agreeable symposium. As the night was cold, a large pan of live charcoal was produced and set down in the centre of the floor,

* The authority of most ancient date, is an epigram—if genuine—of Rhianus, (*Anthol.* Append. No. 72, Vol. iii. Edit. Lips. stereot.) who describes wine and rosin as mixed in equal quantities in his flagon:

> Ἥμισυ μὲν πίσσης κωνίτιδος, ἥμισυ δ' οἴνου,
> Ἀρχὴν ἀτρεκέως ἥδε λάγυνος ἔχει.

Pliny (xiv. 19; xxiii. 1) says it was both to preserve the wine and impart to it medicinal properties. Plutarch (*Symp.* v. 3, 1) supposes the custom to be of such ancient date, as to have suggested that of adorning the Bacchic thyrsus with pine-tops, in honour of the tree from which the ingredient was produced. He also describes it as both preserving the wine, and rendering it more wholesome.

apparently with the intention of being left during the night, much to my alarm. But the Doctor placed one or two pieces of iron, garnished with lemon peel, over the flame, a sufficient guarantee, as he assured me, against all danger from the effluvia. This was the first time I had ever seen or heard of such an expedient, which proved, however, perfectly efficacious.

My host was an intelligent observer of men and things, and his opinions and anecdotes relative to the state of the country, delivered with the straight-forward simplicity of his nation, and tempered with a proper amount of honest prejudice against every thing Greek that was not German, were both instructive and entertaining. His anatomical museum was a somewhat curious one, consisting chiefly of bones picked up in different parts of the country, exhibiting specimens of the art of Greek or Turkish warriors in inflicting sabre wounds, or of the effect of their weapons, or of gunshot, on the different parts of their respective persons, their pericrania more especially. One sample on which he deservedly set a high value, was a skull, recording with much precision the circumstances which led to its separation from the shoulders it formerly adorned. Right down the centre of the back of the head—or, to speak more scientifically, the occiput—was a cut or hack, of about an inch and a half long, clean through the bone; and a little to one side, a slice about as large as half-a-crown, cut smoothly off its outer surface. It was evident, as the Doctor remarked, that the fallen hero was killed in his flight. His enemy coming up with him, had probably given him a chop from behind, and, to make sure of his victim, had thrown in the side blow as he was falling. The cleanness of the cut in both instances bore testimony to the good temper of the blade, as well as to the hardness of the skull.

Before composing ourselves to sleep, we arranged a party to Mantinea for the next morning. I was to mount him on one of my beasts, and as he knew the ground, he was competent to act as both guide and cicerone, without other attendants.

CHAPTER XL.

MANTINEA—ITALIAN REVOLUTIONS AND REFUGEES—FOREIGNERS IN GREEK PAY—POLITICAL STATE AND PROSPECTS OF GREECE—KHAN OF KRYÓVRYSI.

THE morning (Tuesday, April 3) was brilliantly clear, but sharp, and the plain thickly covered with hoar frost. This was the utmost extent to which I experienced the inclemency of an Arcadian winter, being more fortunate in this respect than many of my predecessors, in whose journals I find a snow storm in the Tripolitan plain, even after the spring is well advanced, forms a familiar episode. But the evidence supplied of the comparatively ungenial climate for which this lofty region is proverbial in Greece, was perhaps no less strong in the present case, if we consider that the winter of this year, although one of the coldest ever remembered in the north of Europe, was as remarkable for mildness in its southern latitudes.

My companion was dressed in full uniform, and as we rode out of the town, we were hooted by the children as "Bavari." The compliment, however, was to his nation rather than his person, for he described himself as having acquired favour among the town's people by some successful cures, and general attention to their medical wants, although seldom called in until the case appeared to those interested in the patient to be growing desperate in the hands of the native empirics.

The vale of Mantinea is a retired nook of the great

Tegean plain, and as its table-land is both narrow, and deeply embedded in the loftiest portion of the surrounding highlands, has a much more poetically Arcadian aspect than the remainder of the district. The soil, though apparently richer, is less well cultivated than that around Tripolizza. Its surface is chiefly greensward, overgrown in many places with low brushwood, here and there advancing claim to the character of a grove of trees; and the road for a short distance lay between two hedgerows, the first I remember to have seen in this country. These features, together with its snug sequestered situation, impart to it an air of warmth and amenity, which, added to the graceful lines of its mountain boundary, still entitles it, even in its present state of desolation, to Homer's epithet of "pleasant Mantinea." The only symptoms of population or industry on its surface, were a few huts upon or near the site of the city, and one or two peasants tilling the ground below its walls.

The ruins cover a flat marshy piece of ground near the extremity of the plain, backed by a lofty green knoll of pyramidal form. The traveller, on approaching them, may feel certain that his path lies across the field on which Epaminondas fell, and which was also the scene of other four of the most important battles in the annals of Greek international warfare;* but there is nothing to identify the exact position of the armies in either case. From

* The first was in 418 B.C., when the Spartans and Arcadians under Agis beat the Athenians, Argives, and Mantineans. The second, twenty years afterwards, was the battle of Mantinea by pre-eminence, where Epaminondas was slain. The third was that in which Demetrius Polyorcetes defeated Archidamus and the Spartans, in 296 B.C. The fourth was fought in 242 B.C., between the Achæan league and the Spartans, in which the latter were beaten and their king Agis slain. In the fifth, 206 B.C, Philopœmen, the Achæan general, defeated the Spartans under Machanidas.—See LEAKE, *Morea*, iii. p. 57, *seq.*

Pausanias* it would appear, that the brunt of the action, in the most celebrated of these engagements, was at the distance of about thirty stadia, 3½ miles, from the city, on the road towards Tegea, (or Tripolizza,) consequently but a little within the pass which separates the Mantinean from the Tegean plain. Leake conjectures, with apparent reason, that the place called Scope, from whence Epaminondas after his wound continued to view the battle until he expired, was a ridge of rocky ground projecting into the plain from the height which forms the western boundary of the pass.

Mantinea is one of those ruined cities that interest the traveller, by the distinctness with which the existing remains, although presenting not a single edifice in a tolerable state of preservation, except the cavea of a small stone theatre, and scarcely a vestige of elegant art, realize its ancient state of integrity to the imagination. The wall is more or less entire in its whole circuit to the height of a few feet from the foundations. The interior area of the city is intersected in every direction with foundations, or strewed with shapeless fragments of masonry, of a ruder description than might have been expected in a place of so great eminence during the flourishing ages of Greek art. The wet ditch by which the ramparts were surrounded, is also distinctly represented by a marshy hollow running beneath the whole extent of their outer circumference. The existing fortifications are, like those of Messene and Megalopolis, a work of the engineers of Epaminondas, rebuilt, it would seem, on the foundations of those destroyed fifteen years before by the Spartans; and may be considered as the most finished specimen of the art of defence as it existed during the flourishing period of Greek military tactics. The gates

* *Arcad.* xi.

more especially, of one of which a plan has been given by Leake,* are of very complicated structure.

No advantage seems to have been taken, in planning the city, of the steep height which rises in the immediate neighbourhood, and which in any more ancient fortification upon this ground would doubtless have formed the acropolis. The site consequently, apart from the circumstance of its being completely commanded by this eminence, rather resembles that which the laws of modern than of ancient warfare prescribe for a fortified town. Accordingly, we learn from Pausanias, † that the more ancient city of Mantinea occupied a very different position. He describes its remains as still visible in his time, on a height in the northern extremity of the plain, which Leake has identified with a spot still called Polis, or the City.‡ At what period the Mantineans abandoned their more ancient metropolis does not appear.

We reached Tripolizza, on our return, about noon, and soon after I received a visit from Signor Morandi, with offers of service, and many expressions of regret that his absence the evening before should have deprived him of the opportunity of doing honour to a friend of General Gordon. To my enquiry as to the state of the roads, he answered, that two days before he himself had narrowly escaped falling into the hands of a troop of brigands. This adventure occurred on the road to Karítena,

* *Morea*, p. 103, *seq.* † *Arcad.* xii.

‡ *Morea*, vol. iii. p. 96. Xenophon, however, describes the Mantineans in ancient times, before the foundation of their city on its present site, (the old brick walls of which were destroyed by Agesipolis of Sparta,) as having inhabited *five villages*, into which they were again obliged by their Spartan conquerors to disperse, until restored to liberty and to their metropolis by Epaminondas. *Histor. Hellen.* v. c. 2; conf. Diod. Sic. *Bib. Hist.* xv. c. 4, 6. Possibly Polis may have been a castle or citadel—as in the case of Mycenæ above illustrated; a central fortress of the five villages or suburbs.

whither he was bound on military duty, the enforcement, namely, of the new and unpopular law of conscription, with a small party of mounted escort. Just as they were entering a defile, his suspicions were excited by the motions of his dog in front of him, and, a moment after, one of his men remarked, that he thought he perceived the figure of a man among the bushes. They instantly drew up, when from fifteen to twenty armed men started from their ambush, and fired several shots at them, but without effect. The numerical superiority, however, was so great, that there was no alternative for the chief of the gendarmerie at the head of his men, than, after returning the salute, to scamper off as they best could, pursued by the enemy so long as the ground continued as favourable to infantry as to cavalry movements. This was not encouraging as regards our own prospects. He assured me, however, that the attempt was rather of a political than a predatory nature, and directed against himself personally in his official capacity; but that on our route towards Sparta, a couple of mounted dragoons, with which he promised to provide us, would be sufficient security against any danger we were likely to meet with.

The Commandant was a tall dark military-looking man, full of Italian vivacity, and speaking his native tongue with a strong Lombard accent. He was engaged, as he informed me, in a free translation of General Gordon's History of the Revolution, with an application of the case of Greece to the circumstances of his own country; tending to show how a nation, if united and determined, may, under numerous disadvantages, fight out their freedom against an overwhelming superiority of foreign oppressors. There is, however, it must be allowed, but very little analogy between the two cases. When the whole population of the luxurious cities and highly cultivated plains of happy Italy, shall be content to make

their abode for years in the forests and caves of the Apennines, and to be hunted like wild beasts from fastness to fastness, descending perhaps occasionally to till their valleys with the sword in one hand and the spade in the other, and with more than an equal chance of seeing the produce of their labours swept off when ripe by the forage of the enemy; when the sway of Austria shall be changed from a mild monarchy into a tyrannical despotism, and the tactics of her soldiers shall be reduced to the same level as those of the Turks; then indeed it may come to pass, that after resisting single-handed during six or seven years the concentrated energies of that empire, Italy may, by a general interference on the part of the other great powers, be established as an independent member of the European confederacy. These, however, are scenes which none but the most sanguine, or perhaps it may be better said sanguinary, spirit of ultra-liberalism can either hope or wish ever to see enacted on her stage. The political regeneration of the Italians must be effected, if such a result be possible, in a different manner, and under different auspices, from that of the Greeks. The very advantages which the former race enjoy over the rude mountaineers or piratical mariners of Hellas, are, in fact, the chief obstacle to the attainment of the object they profess to have so deeply at heart. They have wealth, commerce, numbers, talents, and personal courage; they have even large native armies, well equipped and disciplined. They are, in fact, a flourishing, civilized nation, and, as long as they are so, no such sacrifices will be made as would be required to work out such a revolution as the Greeks have achieved. Whatever may be the case with a few hot-headed patriots, the majority of a nation so situated, will hardly be willing to abandon their comforts, properties, or lives, for the sake of a change of go-

vernment, which would, even if practicable, in the first instance infallibly be attended with a very unfavourable change in their personal affairs. They will, in the midst of so many blessings, still be content rather " to bear the ills they have, than fly to others that they know not of."

No one, indeed, seemed to be more sensible of the truth of all this, when candidly placed before him, than Signor Morandi himself, or more deeply to regret those reckless attempts to excite revolt, in one of which his youthful zeal had led him to engage, and which had been the cause of his banishment from his own delightful home to a region offering so little to compensate for its loss. The result of such projects, his judgment as well as his experience had now convinced him, could only be to ruin those concerned, and to reflect discredit on the cause. He even agreed with me in an opinion which, paradoxical as it may at first sight appear, is, I believe, common to the more sagacious class of Italian politicians, that the best means of ultimately promoting the cause of national independence would be to encourage, not to impede, the extension of the Austrian supremacy over the whole of his native country. For unity, by whatever means attained, is what is here chiefly required. The people would thus be insured for the present of a mild and paternal government, instead of being exposed, as now, to the caprices of numerous petty sovereigns, temporal or ecclesiastical. Time and opportunity would be afforded for centralizing the national resources, and consolidating the now conflicting interests of the separate provinces; so that, on the first favourable opportunity of a general war, or some great revolutionary explosion in the rest of Europe, the Italian nation, by one combined effort, not by desultory and convulsive struggles as hitherto, might have some hopes of success in an attempt to establish her

right to govern herself, and some reasonable prospect of maintaining her position as an independent European power.

It may be said of the Italian patriots of the present day, as of the Hebrew prophets of old, that their credit is least in their own country. Signor Morandi, in his new residence and office, seemed to enjoy universal respect and esteem, as a good citizen and a man of honour, as well as an officer of talent and activity. On a journey across the Apennines in the ensuing autumn, it was my misfortune to pass the night at a wretched little inn on the frontiers of Tuscany and Modena, attached to which was a military post of the latter state. I entered into conversation with the sergeant in command, in the course of which it occurred to me to ask, whether he had ever known a person of the name of Morandi. I could not have applied in a better quarter, as my gossip, an old soldier, a stanch loyalist as befitted his station, and strenuous in his abhorrence of the late attempts to disturb the mild dynasty of Francis the Fourth, had himself been actively engaged in their suppression. No sooner had the name reached his ear, than he broke out into such virulent invectives against its owner, that I almost felt afraid to confess that I had known him in the capacity of commandant of gendarmerie under King Otho. He denounced him as himself a brigand, traitor, and assassin, and informed me that a reward of 500 crowns had been set on his head, which he himself had been narrowly disappointed of securing.

In the afternoon, every thing being in readiness for our departnre, I proceeded, accompanied by the Commandant, the Doctor, and three or four other German officers who had honoured me with a visit at my quarters, to view the town, directing my equipage to await me at the issue of the road towards Sparta. It must be ad-

mitted that the Greeks have some reason to complain of the number of foreigners who feed on the scanty supply of loaves and fishes provided from the stores of their annual budget. With two exceptions, the Governor of Mesolonghi and the Commandant of Gendarmerie at Sparta, I scarcely remember to have come in contact with a single public functionary of note, in the course of my journey, that was a native of the soil. At Mesolonghi, the commandant, the chief engineer, and the military surgeon, Germans; at Argos, the military head-quarter of the Morea, the general commanding in chief a Scotchman, his aide-de-camp German, and the only other officers I met at his table, Frenchmen; at Tripolizza, the chief of the gendarmerie an Italian, the staff-surgeon, and all the other officers of the garrison whom I saw there, Bavarians; at Patras, the town commandant a Swiss. It is probable that this preference may in many cases insure a more efficient discharge of the duties attached to the respective offices; for some of which the native population could hardly be expected to furnish any considerable number of persons even moderately qualified; and where the favoured parties are old Philhellenes, who had stood by the cause through evil as well as good report, there is less disposition to grumble. Our own distinguished countrymen, Church and Gordon,* in spite of the high stations they have occupied, are still two of the most popular men in Greece. The undue preferment of Bavarian adventurers is what the natives object to; and although the evil in their complaints is of course exaggerated, yet it is no doubt crying enough. The ultra-malecontents even go the length of denouncing

* Since writing the above, I have to lament the death of my distinguished friend, which took place in the spring of this year, (1841,) at his own place in Aberdeenshire. He had retired from the Greek service the year after my visit, and returned to his native country.

the German dynasty as but the old Turkish oppression in a different form, and the more cruel and mortifying, as being exercised under the specious disguise of that national independence which they have endured so many years of war and hardship to establish; while the court is considered as but a rallying point for hungry cormorants from every part of Germany, to come down and fatten on the carcass of their extenuated body politic. The vast idea they have so naturally conceived of their own martial prowess, renders this partiality the more galling perhaps in the military appointments, where it is chiefly displayed; and several stories were current, apparently on good authority, of instances in which heroes of many fights had been laid on the shelf, to make way for some inexperienced martinet from the military schools of Munich. I have even heard it gravely maintained, that a large proportion of the aliens preferred to commissions are Jews, (a nation for whom the Greeks have a still greater horror than for the Turks,) and that the Hellenic army is used as a drain to clear the native country of King Otho of this odious race. False and absurd as many of these stories may be, they are yet in themselves strong evidence of the mischief of the system that has given rise to them, and which, exaggeration apart, there can be little doubt has been acted upon to a most iniquitous and impolitic extent.

The system itself, however, is doubtless, in some degree, a necessary consequence of the anomalous circumstances under which the *regenerate* state has been established. In ordinary cases, where a province of some great empire asserts its separate independence, the act is that of the inhabitants in the mass. None but the determined personal or political adherents of the dominant power are ejected. The native population remains entire, both in its numbers and national spirit, and presents

all the elements requisite for the formation of a new body politic, with the usual distinction of classes, each abounding in persons trained within their proper sphere to the ordinary functions of police and civil administration. In Greece, on the other hand, there was a dominant race and a subject race, broadly distinguished from each other. The lords of the soil are ejected, and with them the great mass of the aristocracy or upper class. The vassals pass at once from bondage to independence, and to the duty and necessity of self-government, for which they are both unprepared and unfit.

Here, therefore, many of the primary ingredients of a nation were altogether wanting from the first, and can be but slowly and imperfectly supplied from indigenous sources. It must also be borne in mind, with reference to the existing state of affairs, that even the few native Greeks who had any experience of the arts of government, had been trained to a system altogether foreign to that of Western Europe, which they were now called upon to adopt. Politically speaking, the Greeks were Asiatics, and all their oriental ideas, whether social or political, required to be corrected or eradicated, before they could be expected to form a civilized people, upon civilized European principles.

Under these circumstances, there can be little doubt that it would have been far better for Greece, on shaking off the Turkish yoke, to have been contented, for a season at least, with something short of complete independence, and rather to have passed under the tutelage of some great European power, as the Ionian islands are now held by England, in order to be trained to the arts and usages of civilized government, and still more perhaps to those of regular military discipline, as an intermediate stage to the full enjoyment of that dangerous privilege, on which they naturally set so high a value.

The attempt in the first instance to establish a purely Greek constitution, produced a state of confusion as fatal to the national prosperity as the iron rod of the Turk. The next expedient, that of selecting a sovereign from a royal house distinguished for its Philhellenic principles, has been attended, it may be said as a matter of necessity, with the unpopular results which suggested these observations. The European dynasty finds it impracticable to carry on the European system of government by native machinery alone. The employment to a certain extent of foreign men, to carry into effect foreign measures, became necessary. The practice, once introduced, could not fail to be carried to an abusive excess; while its prevalence is still more galling to the citizens of a nominally free and independent state, than it would have been in one partially subjected, for its own benefit, to a more powerful and highly civilized protector.

Political prophecies are always hazardous; but certainly existing appearances are not favourable either to the prosperity or the permanence of the Bavarian dynasty.

Tripolizza is a place of modern origin; but its site has been supposed to correspond with that of Palantium, the native city of Evander, the fabulous colonist of the Palatine hill, and civilizer of Latium. It was the Turkish capital of the Morea, and its siege and capture in the year 1821, was one of the first signal successes of the insurgents. To describe its present appearance would be little else than a repetition of what has been said of Thebes, Livadía, Argos, and other Greek towns of the same rank. The only relic of the Turkish period is an arched gateway, through which Ibrahim Pashá entered when he recaptured the place in 1825. It was spared in commemoration of this event, when every thing else was laid in ruins by the Egyptians, on the subsequent

evacuation of their conquest; and now seems to be cherished by the Greeks, in their turn, as a memorial of their triumph.

We were to proceed that evening but half the distance to Sparta, leaving, however, so short a journey for the following day, as to admit of my devoting the whole afternoon to its remains. After a two hours' ride, we leave the site of Tegea distant a mile or two to the left. It offers no ruins of sufficient interest to demand a visit. On the right is a lake, which, though small, is really entitled to the name; as presenting a clear liquid expanse to the eye, not a reedy marsh, with here and there a pool or stagnant river, like the famous Copaïs. Soon after we begin to ascend the course of a stream, called Saranda Potamó or "Forty Rivers," which, losing itself in a chasm beneath a neighbouring mountain, is said to reappear as the Alpheus, at a place called Frankóvrysi, the ancient Asea, after a subterranean course of eight or ten miles. About sunset we reach the khan of Kryóvrysi or Cold-Spring. This place takes its name from a source in the neighbourhood, said to be the fountain-head of the river just mentioned, and by consequence of the Alpheus. Its situation is wild and picturesque; the khan itself as miserable as any I had yet seen, but possessing two signal advantages; first, that from the Alpine nature of the climate it was quite free of vermin; secondly, that the accommodation for man and beast was separate. The scene round the fire was, on a smaller scale, something similar to that described at San Vlasio; but the party was less jovial. The respect of my military escort for myself, and of the remainder of the guests for both them and me, seemed to throw a ceremonious gloom over the circle.

About nightfall we were joined by two Herculean figures in the accoutrement of herdsmen, but whose cos-

tume and general appearance struck me as different from that of the native peasantry of the same class, while their address was remarkable for a clownish bluntness and simplicity, unlike the brisk vivacity which usually characterizes the demeanour of the Greek population. One of them entered into conversation with Nicóla, who seemed to have found some instantaneous means of ingratiating himself; for after exchanging a few words, each of the strangers shook him heartily by the hand, and kissed his cheek, a ceremony which was repeated at parting. On enquiry, I found they belonged to the same race of Wallachian nomads who had been my first acquaintance on the soil of Greece. They had been pasturing their flocks during winter on the Peloponnesian plains, and the source of the sudden friendship between them and my Albanian was his intimacy with their brethren of the north, and his account of our late interview with the colony of Petalá. Though not so tall as some of their Patagonian cousins of the Acheloüs, they were both most ponderous athletic personages. I could not help greeting them by gestures (for we could make little speed by words) as old acquaintance, and they returned the salute in a manner that showed they perfectly understood the motive from which it was offered. After warming themselves at the fire for half an hour, they rose and continued their route across the mountains in the dark. There were, I was told, several moveable colonies of them in the Morea, and in the sequel of our own travels we fell in with one, journeying, like the patriarchs of old, with their flocks and herds, wives, children, and whole domestic apparatus.

CHAPTER XLI.

FIRST VIEW OF THE SPARTAN PLAIN—MAÏNOTES—SPARTA.

παρ' Εὐρώτα πόρον δεῖ σάμερόν μ' ἐλθεῖν ἐν ὥρᾳ.
PIND. *Ol.* vi. 46.

"This day Eurotas' ford I cross betimes."

THE morning (Wednesday, April 4th) was again bright and clear, with sharp frost. Pursuing the ascent for some miles, we reach the summit of the ridge, a stony heath, interspersed with straggling groups of stunted pine and oak, through which there suddenly opened up a view of the whole higher region of Mount Taÿgetus, a stupendous range of snowy peaks glittering in the morning sun. Here began the descent towards the vale of the Eurotas, by tracks often so precipitous as to render it necessary to dismount and lead our horses. In the woods I heard, for the first time, the note of the cuckoo. One of the dragoons also called the attention of his comrade to the sound, and on enquiry I found that it was equally new to the rest of the party. The next day, in the Spartan plain, I also first heard the song of the nightingale. I have heard numbers singing in chorus, even in the colder regions of Italy, ten days earlier; yet this was a genial spring in Greece. After four or five hours' ride, we halt to refresh at the khan of Vourla.

From this point we obtain the first view of the plain of Sparta, and no words can describe the dazzling brilliancy of the prospect. It combines all the beauties of

Greek, Swiss, and Italian scenery. Lacedæmon is one of those cities which Homer so appropriately characterizes by the elegant epithet formerly illustrated,* denoting the wide expanse of joyous plain, in the midst of which it is situated; and which, if not equal in extent or actual fertility of soil, is certainly vastly superior in beauty and luxuriant vegetation to any I had yet traversed, being covered in part, and studded in every direction, with a rich variety of forest and fruit trees. The foreground of the landscape is a succession of woody declivities, extending nearly to the brink of the Eurotas, which is seen winding its silver course through the vale into the extreme distance. The western boundary of the valley in its whole length is the ridge of Taÿgetus, which, whether from its real height,† from the grandeur of its öütline, or the abruptness of its rise from the plain, created in my mind a stronger impression of stupendous bulk and loftiness than any mountain I have seen in Greece, or perhaps in any other part of Europe. Homer seems to have viewed it with the same eyes—as to it alone, among his native mountains, he applies a distinctive epithet,‡ signifying a superiority of altitude to all its fellows. It is indeed to Greece what the Bern Alps are to Switzerland; and the first view of its line of snowy peaks, brought home forcibly to my mind that from the terrace of Bern cathedral, certainly the grandest Alpine prospect in Western Europe.

The base of the ridge, immediately above Sparta, consists of a row of huge projecting masses of precipitous rock, rising almost perpendicular from a gentle declivity, which by a graceful sweep connects them with the level

* εὐρύχορος. *Odyss.* xiii. 414; xv. 1. See ch. xvi. *supra.*

† 7000 to 8000 feet?

‡ περιμήκετον. *Odyss.* vi. 103. The highest summit is now called Makrynó, a term of somewhat similar import.

plain. These stupendous heights, each in its individual capacity equal or superior to a Lycabettus, or even an Acrocorinthus, and each with its separate summit, crowned perhaps by a ruined tower or sanctuary, look like a succession of bulwarks thrown forward to protect the vale from the snow that covers the upper region of the mountain; or rather perhaps like a Cyclopian substruction to a gigantic edifice of white marble. Over the intermediate ridges are scattered forests of dark green pine, sometimes in dense masses, sometimes in broken straggling groups—in Homer's time the favourite haunts of Diana.* The snow, which appeared to extend over about a fourth of the whole altitude of the mountain, from its brilliancy, the distinctness of its boundary line, and the apparent density of its mass, produced an effect more resembling that of an Alpine glacier than any I had yet witnessed in the Greek highlands, and conveyed the impression of its being here also a permanent ornament of the whole summit. This however, I believe, is not the case; during summer, it only remains in the more sequestered ravines, or the spots least exposed to the rays of the sun.

The site of ancient Sparta is now clearly to be distinguished, by the new buildings lately erected on one of its most conspicuous points. It forms the extremity of a long low range of hills, which, projecting in the form of a wedge down the centre of the upper part of the plain from its inland boundary, splits this portion of it into two secondary valleys. Of these, the one to the eastward is watered by the Eurotas, the other by one of its principal tributaries, joining the main stream a little below the city. Misitrá, in Turkish times the capital of the district, is situated a little further up the vale than Sparta, on the base of the mountain, at the entrance to one of the deep gorges

* *Odyss.* loc. cit.

that run up into its interior. Its Gothic castle crowns one of the lowest of the row of colossal heights above described, and with the ruined houses of the town, scattered on the declivities beneath, has a very picturesque appearance. The plain does not extend to the sea or the horizon, but is cut off by a range of lower eminences, projecting in softly undulating lines from the southern extremity of Taÿgetus. Before reaching their base, the Eurotas, taking a turn to the eastward, enters a narrow gorge, separating the vale of Sparta from the marshes of Helos, through which it discharges itself into the sea. The eastern boundary of the valley, on the declivities of which I was now standing, is Mount Mænalion, running parallel to Taÿgetus. Along its base winds the Eurotas, seldom diverging in the course of its meanderings far into the heart of the plain. This mountain, though offering some bold precipices towards the river, is not remarkable either for height or variety of outline; but rising gradually in a succession of gentler ridges, allows the eye to range freely to a considerable distance across its surface. These milder features, while they render it a happy set-off to its gigantic opposite neighbour, have also the effect of giving extent and variety to the general landscape.

Sheltered on every side by mountains from the blast, and itself but slightly raised above the level of the sea, the vale of Lacedæmon is as remarkable for the geniality of its climate as the beauty of its scenery, and has accordingly been most appropriately characterized by Homer as a "hollow pleasant valley."* There is perhaps no region in Greece where the poet has been more fortunate in his epithets, or where they so well bespeak his personal knowledge of the country. The soil of the plain, unless

* κοίλη ἐρατεινή.—*Il.* ii. 581; iii. 443. *Odyss.* iv. 1; xiii. 414; xv. 1. Compare the description of the plain, *Odyss.* iv. 602, *seq.*

where disturbed by the stony beds of the torrents from the mountain, which indeed is the case on a great part of its surface, is of fine quality, and supplies every production of this favoured latitude in the highest perfection. Its olives are, in the present age at least, preferred to those of Athens. The orange groves of Misitrá are equally celebrated; while in silk, both for quantity and quality, the Spartan plain excels every other district in Greece.

Upon the whole, the scenery of the vale of Eurotas, though offering, no doubt, a less classical study to the painter than may be found in other parts of Greece, is yet the most dazzling on first view to the eye of the beholder that I have met with in that or any other country. I have ventured to be thus particular in describing this region, partly in deference to its own surpassing beauty, partly from a desire to impress on the mind of the reader the contrast, which forced itself so powerfully on my own, between its natural features and the character of the race by whom, in its more prosperous days, it was possessed. A sea view alone is wanting; with this single exception, there can scarcely be imagined a district combining, in greater number and perfection than Lacedæmon, all the properties generally considered best calculated to gladden the hearts—to warm the imagination—to soften the manners—or even to enervate the energies of its inhabitants. Yet the Spartans are proverbial among the nations of the earth for their exemption from all the influences, for good or for evil, to which the fair paradise that fell to their lot might be supposed to subject them; for their contempt of all its sensual delights; for the stern ferocity of their habits, both public and domestic; for deficiency of talent and taste for every branch of imaginative pursuit; for an iron insensibility, in short, to all the finer impulses or affections of our nature.

This fact may be adduced, as one among many strong evidences, of the fallacy of the prevailing theories relative to the dependence of national character on the peculiarities of the soil or climate in which it may be developed. These theories, indeed, supply one of the best illustrations of what Aristotle so aptly characterizes as the favourite error of superficial reasoners; that, namely, of framing general maxims out of incidental cases—of confounding the circumstances under which events take place, with the causes that produce them. It has become with us moderns a trite maxim of elementary geography, that the present effeminacy, moral or political, of the inhabitants of some of the fairest regions of southern Europe, is a consequence of the seductive influences of their climate; while the martial and enterprizing genius of the nations to the north, is attributed to the invigorating power of a temperature more favourable to activity and exertion. If this rule hold good of the last two thousand years, how happens it to have been so strangely contradicted by the two thousand that precede them, during which the inhabitants of these enervating regions were not only themselves distinguished for enterprize and endurance, but were in the habit of stigmatizing us northern men of iron as deficient in the same qualities in which it is now our boast to excel them? How do we reconcile with this rule, that the three races of Europe, who in the history of the world have at least never been surpassed in vigour of character—the Athenians, Spartans, and Romans—should have been nurtured in three of its most delicious regions? This error is common to the ancient statistical writers with our own. If it was climate that enervated Sybaris and Capua, how did Athens, Lacedæmon, or Rome escape?

The same theory will be found equally fallacious in

other cases to which it is familiarly applied. Constitutional liberty, we are told, is a plant only adapted to temperate zones, and requiring the nourishment of the same hardihood of character denied by nature to the inhabitants of warm and voluptuous latitudes. And yet the republican form of government had its origin in Syria, and had been carried to a high degree of perfection in the sands of Libya, before it reached those genial shores of the Ægæan where we have the first notice of its being reduced to theoretical principles. The imaginative arts, it is said, on the other hand, require to be fostered by the same amenity of soil and serenity of atmosphere, so prejudicial to the more abstract intellectual energies of our species; and this point of the system is, perhaps, the most plausible, as being in some degree confirmed by the fact, that these arts were first carried to perfection in Greece, and when driven from her shores by the degeneracy of their ancient patrons, took refuge in Italy, the country which, next to herself, seemed to hold out the greatest encouragement to their culture. Yet it is not easy to reconcile with this theory the fact, that the genius of original design, in its progress from east to west, should have passed with contempt over the fair plains of France, to settle among the mists and swamps of the region on its northern frontier, combining most of the natural features which might be expected to act as antidotes to the working of every species of poetical inspiration, whether displayed through the medium of the pen or the pencil.

It is a fine observation of Dante, in allusion to the rarity with which virtue descends from father to son in hereditary succession, that "so it has been willed by him who bestows so noble a gift, that it may appear to proceed entirely from himself;"—

" Rade volte risurge per li rami
L'umana probitade, e questo vuole
Quei che la dà perchè da lui si chiami."—*Purg.* vii. 121.

The remote sources of human excellence are no less mysterious in nations than individuals. In each case, however, it is originally a boon conferred by Providence in one case and denied in another. In each the operation of external causes is occasionally traceable, but will never be found sufficiently constant to supply a general rule, or even to justify our ascribing to them more than a mere incidental agency. A man naturally devoid of talent for painting, will not be made a skilful artist by being placed in a picturesque country; nor will a race deficient in native genius for art or literature, be much more likely to distinguish itself in either, merely by being placed in the situation most favourable for their cultivation, than barley seed sown in a rich soil will be to produce wheat. Had the Hellenes, in the course of their early migrations, fixed their abode in the steppes of Scythia, we might now be under as little obligation to their poets or artists as to those of the ancient barbarians of that region. But, on the other hand, had Greece, amid the same vicissitudes of primitive history, fallen to the lot of a horde of Tartars, centuries of brilliant sun and balmy air would never have moulded such uncongenial stuff into a Homer or a Phidias. And even here the anomaly observable in individual cases tends to confirm the principle to which they are all ultimately to be referred; for the Spartans, though emanating from the same stock, and planted in the soil most favourable for bringing its growth to maturity, prided themselves on their barrenness in those qualities which were the chief glory of their fellow Greeks.

But if the popular theory be fallacious as regards the imaginative faculties, it is altogether false as bearing on

the civil and political energies of mankind. The former indeed must, from their very nature, be in some degree dependent on visible and sensual objects for the mode and extent of their exercise. But the talents requisite for the framing of social or civil institutions, being concentrated around man himself alone in his moral and intellectual capacity, are placed much further beyond the reach of any external or material influences. That they should in some degree be subject to them may indeed be granted, as a necessary condition of the connexion between the corporeal and the intellectual element of our nature. Extremes in climate, as in every thing else, cannot fail to be prejudicial. The stupifying effects of cold on the Esquimaux, can as little be denied as of heat on the Nigritians. But the examples already quoted, with numerous others that might be adduced from different chapters of universal history, are sufficient evidence that undue importance has been assigned to such influences, within the latitudes in which the human species can be considered as a healthy and flourishing part of the creation.

The true causes of power or prosperity in those races which have exercised the greatest sway on the destinies of mankind, whether Greeks or Romans, Persians or Arabs, French or English, are, first, the native force of character implanted in them by the Creator; secondly, the youthful vigour with which their powers are exercised; for nations, like individuals, have their periods of infancy, manhood, and old age. Where these two favourable circumstances are combined, the influence of a delicious climate will probably act as a stimulant rather than a check, as was doubtless the case in Greece; where they are wanting, it may be equally pernicious as an incentive to sensual indulgence, the sole or chief scope of man's existence in his state of corruption, as in his state

of barbarism. In the familiarly quoted cases of this latter class, it is to the imbecility or the degeneracy of the population, not to the peculiarities of their native district, that the primary source of the mischief is to be traced. Local influences, if operative at all, are of quite a subordinate nature.

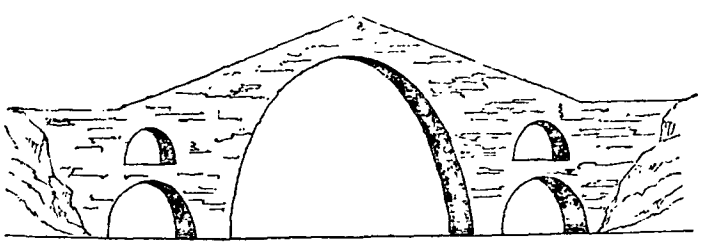
The natives of the Laconian highlands, however, would seem to supply an exception even to this latter rule; as exhibiting a greater ferocity of character, and a more indomitable spirit of independence, in their degenerate than in their youthful state. We hear of no stand made, and no independence maintained, by the ancient occupants of the fastnesses of Taygetus, against the successive conquests of the Heraclidæ, the Macedonians, or the Romans. They seem, on each of these occasions, to have meekly submitted to the fate of the metropolis. In modern times the case is different; and these mountain tribes,* calculated to comprise, under the general term Maïnotes, a population of between 50,000 and 60,000 souls, with from eight to ten thousand fighting men, have for many centuries steadily and successfully resisted a foreign yoke from whatever quarter attempted to be imposed. During four hundred years the Turks were never able to subdue them. Their only recognition of the signorial rights of the sultan was an annual tribute of 17,000 piastres, or about L.940, (threepence or fourpence per head,) irregularly paid;† a very trifling equivalent for the advantage of freedom from any further annoyance on the part of the infidels, and the greater leisure it afforded them for prosecuting their favourite

* Opinions are much divided as to the real origin of this remarkable people; some maintaining them to be lineally descended from the ancient Laconians, others from the Sclavonic tribes by whom the Morea was overrun during the middle ages.

† LEAKE, *Morea*, vol. i., p. 245.

pursuits of robbery and piracy against both Turk and Christian. Ibrahim Pashá made several determined efforts to force their passes, in all of which he was ignominously defeated; and although party divisions, or the conflicting interests of some of their chieftains, seem for the present to have baffled their hopes of still continuing to assert a separate independence, yet the efforts of the Bavarian dynasty to exact from them a greater degree of submission than they were willing to pay, have on several occasions met with a similar fate.

The termination of the descent into the vale brings the traveller at once on the banks of the Eurotas, just where the narrow glen within which its upper course is confined begins to expand. As the ford at this place was pronounced not practicable, we ascend a few hundred yards to a bridge, situated at a point where the bed of the stream is overhung by cliffs, in which the road is excavated on each side. This bridge is the most respectable modern Greek structure of its class I had seën, and is somewhat similar in style, though vastly inferior in size and fabric, to the Ponte della Maddelena, near the Baths of Lucca. It consists of one wide arch in



the centre, with two of smaller size, one above the other, on each flank. The crown of the principal arch is raised to a great height above the level of the road at each end, so as to render the causeway inconveniently steep. The cliffs on the left bank of the river, just be-

low the bridge, exhibit evident tokens of having been used as quarries, being cut into perpendicular faces, in the same manner, and with the same marks of chiseling, as the marble quarries of Pentelicus. The road, after crossing the river, follows its right bank, parallel to the ridge of low hills which here divide the valley of the Eurotas from that of Misitrá. In a ravine to the right are the ruins of an aqueduct of the lower Roman or Byzantine period. The river, as it approaches the town, becomes broader, and its course more straggling, while its banks and the dry parts of its bed are overgrown with a profusion of reeds. This peculiar feature of the Eurotas is a favourite subject of allusion with the ancients.*

Soon after we turn to the right, through another similar ravine. Fragments of masonry now become visible on the brow of the declivity which overhangs the road to the left. This is the western extremity of the site of Sparta, occupied by the remains of the theatre. Another sharp turn to the left brings us into the inner area of the ancient city, which is now partly a wilderness of ruins, overgrown with creepers and brushwood, partly a disorderly range of garden grounds, or ill cultivated land, studded with groves of olives, mulberries, and poplars, with a few cottages scattered here and there. As we rode past one of these groups of dwellings, we had the most determined encounter with the dogs in which our cavalcade had hitherto been engaged; and both here and in other parts of Laconia and Messenia, the animal amply supports its ancient character for ferocity and courage. One of them actually sprang up and fastened on the tail of the horse of one of the dragoons, who pulled out his pistol from the holster in a fury, much to my alarm, as I was immediately in the rear. He would certainly have shot the animal, had it not been called off

* *Theogn.* v. 782. EURIPIDES, *Iphig. in Aul.* 179, et alib. freq.

by a virago, the proprietrix probably, who was spinning at the door of the hut, and who also maintained the credit of her nation and sex for boldness of spirit, by giving vent to a torrent of abusive language against the man for the undue severity of his threatened measures of defence. The ancient Lacedæmonians were no less jealous of the honour of their dogs. An encounter very similar to that above described, during the heroic age, was attended with the most fatal results. When Hercules visited Sparta, in order to purify himself from the blood of Iphitus, he was accompanied by his cousin Œonus, a lad under age. Walking out to view the city, and happening to pass the palace of Hippocoon, the reigning chieftain of the place, the youth was attacked by one of the house dogs. Resorting to the usual mode of defence in such cases, he seized a stone and felled the animal. The sons of Hippocoon immediately rushed out upon him and beat him to death with clubs. The consequence was a bloody feud between Hercules and Hippocoon, which ended in the extermination of the latter with his whole family.*

On clearing the thickets, we reached an open level meadow, at the extremity of which, on a green acclivity, are the buildings already completed of the modern city of Sparta.

Several centuries before Greece began to be frequented by classical tourists, Lacedæmon had ceased to be a town. The scanty remains of its population had, during the turbulent ages, emigrated to Misitrá, which, with its strong castle on one of the cliffs at the base of the mountain, offered a more secure dwelling-place, and finally became the capital of the district. Since the establishment of the national independence, it has, however, been determined to transfer the metropolitan honours of the pro-

* Apollod. *Bibl.* ii. 7, 3. Pausan. *Lacon.* xv.

vince to their ancient seat. The measure originated, as I was informed, with the inhabitants themselves, but met with the approbation of the government. Although something may be attributed to classical associations, it is probable that motives of utility were more influential in its adoption. Misìtrá, like other Greek towns, was but a heap of ruins at the conclusion of the war. The unhealthiness of its site had long been matter of complaint; the marshy grounds below exposed it to noxious vapours, and the gorges running up into the mountain behind, to sudden chills and changes of temperature. The site of the ancient city, on the other hand, a range of dry airy heights in the centre of the plain, is said to be as remarkable for salubrity as for amenity and beauty.

The spot selected as the centre of the new town is an open green eminence, sloping to the level plain, at the southern extremity of the ruins, and which, as it exhibits few or no fragments of antiquity on its own surface, may be presumed to have been either beyond the bounds of the ancient city, or a void space within them. A good number of houses are already completed, including most of the public offices. The place, from being perfectly new, and free from the usual chaos of rubbish, has an air of cleanliness or tidiness—to use a homely but expressive phrase—of which no other Greek community can boast. The houses already built are chiefly of the better class; the zeal for emigration having, as may be supposed, first led to any practical results among the upper ranks. The poor would but follow in the wake of their patrons and employers. Some of these structures are large, several stories high, and at a distance of rather imposing exterior, but altogether devoid of either solidity or elegance. They are compact square masses of rubble masonry, encased in a framework of wood, with sloping tiled roofs of bright vermilion hue, without cornice or ornamental

moulding of any kind, and in spite of the partial relief to the eye afforded by outer staircase and balconies, altogether deficient in either architectural or picturesque effect. The contrast in this respect between modern Greece and Italy, two countries so very similar in climate and soil, and in many points of manners, is very striking. In the latter country, the cottages of the poorest rustics, erected by the common native masons, scarcely ever fail to present, both single and in groups, so graceful an outline, as to have all the appearance to the eye of having been destined by art for the effect they produce; and offer to the landscape painter the most excellent studies of rural architecture. In Greece, with the partial exception of a convent or hamlet hanging on the steep side of a mountain, and of some of the new palaces of Athens, the houses both of high and low are little better than eyesores on the face of the land. Those of the rich have the air of warehouses, or manufactories; those of the poor, of cow-sheds or hog-styes. The evil has probably been rather increased than diminished by the introduction of the German taste for high sloping roofs. Of this a conspicuous example is supplied by the principal edifice of Sparta, an immense silk manufactory, lately erected for the encouragement of the staple trade of the district, at some little distance from the main group of houses; and which, with its lofty blue covering, apparently of some tarred material, looms hideously in the prospect, like one of the great sheds that cover the ship-building stocks in our naval arsenals.

CHAPTER XLII.

HOSPITALITY OF SPARTAN COMMANDANT—LACEDÆMONIAN SUPPER.

ὤπτα δὲ καὶ τὰς κοιλίας,
οὕτω σφόδρ' ἦν ἀρχαῖος.—ATHEN. l. i., p. 12.

"The very entrails roasted he would eat,
So antiquated was he in his ways."

ON arrival, I presented my credentials from the General to the commandant, requesting a billet for a couple of nights in such quarters as were to be procured. He received me in a most friendly manner, and forthwith ceded to me the best of his own two rooms, furnished, more or less in the European style, with table, chairs, bedstead, and mattress—and not deficient in cleanliness. I then proceeded, attended by one of his men as a guide, to inspect the ruins. They are far more considerable in point of extent than I had been led to expect from the descriptions of my predecessors, but for the most part of a very sorry description. Almost the only remains of the Hellenic or Roman periods that make any appearance above ground, are the theatre, and a small piece of stone masonry, of ponderous square blocks, among the bushes, not far from the new town. This latter relic, probably part of the cell of a temple, now bears among the learned of Sparta, the title of Tomb of Leonidas. The site of the theatre has already been noticed; the only portions of its masonry still remaining entire are of stone; but on the surface of the cavea, which now bore a crop of wheat,

were visible a few blocks of the white marble with which Pausanias describes it as formerly adorned. All the other remains appeared to be of a very low period, chiefly composed of the ruins of former edifices. Among them are several Christian churches.* The best structure of this inferior class is a long quadrangular enclosure, with the greater part of its outer wall entire, and which, from the arrangement of its interior into numerous small arched chambers, would seem to have been a bath or gymnasium, converted perhaps in later times into a barrack or magazine. There is a paltry little amphitheatre, of very wretched masonry, but tolerably well preserved, in a hollow not far from the river, and in its neighbourhood a ravine of a form which indicates the site of the stadium. No part of the ancient city extended to the eastward of the Eurotas.

The site of Sparta resembles that of Rome, comprehending a number of contiguous hills of little height or boldness of character. As the Dorian Spartans affected to despise all means of defence but their own valour and the terror of their name, this was a very appropriate position for their capital. It was not, however, of their own choice, but transmitted to them from the heroic age, and offers therefore a rare exception to the rule usually observed in those early times, that the limits of a city should comprehend a commanding acropolis. Dorian Sparta had no acropolis in the ordinary sense of the word, although the loftiest eminence of the group was familiarly called by that name. It is not now easy to decide which of them it may have been, as several present nearly the same elevation to the eye. The law against artificial

* Since writing the above, I find that Colonel Leake (*Morea*, vol. i., p. 187,) denies the existence of any ruins of Christian churches at Sparta; but in spite of the high respect I entertain for his authority, I must abide by my own opinion.

defences was first departed from on occasion of the attack made on the city by Demetrius Poliorcetes, when a few works were hastily thrown up. The fortifications were improved and extended by Nabis, but destroyed by Philopœmen, and finally restored and completed by the Romans when they took possession of the place. The stone substructions observable on the face of the heights behind the theatre, may be the remains of these works. On several portions of the ancient area, where the soil is less encumbered with ruins or trees, chiefly in the neighbourhood of the new town, excavations have lately been made, but to little depth, and solely, or chiefly, it would seem, for the purpose of obtaining building material. Here and there, however, foundations of considerable extent have been brought to light, together with portions of columns and other architectural fragments, of good marble, but for the most part of small dimensions.

On my return to the quarters of the commandant, I perceived some of his retainers busy in skinning an animal, which, on nearer approach, I found to be a lamb just slaughtered, and hung upon a peg on one of the posts of the staircase. I felt some surprise at the sight, as Nicóla, in the exercise of his purveyorship, was not in the habit of "honouring me with perfect lambs and goats;" and I knew that, amid the rigours of Lent, it could not be intended for the table of my landlord. On enquiry, however, it appeared that the victim really was a firstling of his own fold. In the genuine spirit of patriarchal hospitality, immediately on our arrival he had "fetched a lamb from his flock, tender and good, and given it to a young man, who hasted to dress it;" and a very delicious meal it afforded on each of the two days I remained in his quarters. This was the first and only occasion on which I experienced, on the part of a native Greek, a disinterested exercise of hospitality. It is true

that I scarcely ever had occasion elsewhere to appeal to that of any other class than the clergy or the peasantry, both of whom are accustomed to speculate on the annual visits of the foreign tourist as a source of revenue; and their chief object is, to extort from their guests as exorbitant a price as possible for the poor accommodation they supply.

My host, in the present instance, not only insisted on providing my repast, but, in the zeal of his friendly politeness, even went the length of waiving the rites of his religion in favour of those of hospitality, by partaking of it himself. Our table was soon served. The first dish realized, still more effectually than the slaughter of the lamb, Homer's account of a patriarchal Greek supper, and that on the scene of one of the most remarkable of the banquets described in his poems, the house of a Spartan chief—perhaps on the very spot where Menelaus entertained Telemachus. It was a delicate portion of the entrails, but not one familiar to me before as an article of diet, white, clean, and daintily dressed, and served up twisted in numberless coils* round the wooden skewer on which it was roasted: "warm with the spit itself."† After this followed, also roasted, some of the choicest morsels of the flesh. With the ancients, especially in primitive ages, the entrails were considered, and justly as far as my experience goes, among the most delicate articles of diet.‡ Accordingly, as we find pointedly stated in the Odyssey, they were the portion selected

* The same probably called the πολύπτυχον ἔγκατον by Lucian, *Lexiph.* 3.

† θέρμ' αὐτοῖς ὀβελοῖσι.—*Odyss.* xiv. 77.

‡ Numerous testimonies in their honour have been collected by Athenæus, lib. vii. and viii. Hence the humorous epigram of Alexis, *ap.* Athen. l. iii. p. 100.) concerning a famous epicure:—

ὑπὲρ πάτρας μὲν πᾶς τις ἀποθνήσκειν θέλει,
ὑπὲρ δὲ μήτρας Καλλιμέδων ὁ Κάραβος.

to confer honour on a newly-arrived guest.* Hence "tasting the entrails" was also the first symbolic rite of a sacrifice.† The custom of serving meat on the spits or toasting-prongs on which it was dressed, is also frequently alluded to by Homer.

"Roasting the entrails" was considered as a peculiarly antiquated and Homeric custom by the Greek epicures of civilized ages, with whom they seem to have been invariably boiled or otherwise prepared.‡ Hence it is said by the comic poet Antiphanes, that "Homer never made soup or boiled his meat," but "roasted the very entrails, so old-fashioned was he in his ways."§ The same remark may equally apply to my host, whose cookery was a genuine representative of that of Menelaus.

Lent is, in many respects, the most unfavourable season for the traveller in Greece, who is interested in tracing the analogy between ancient and modern customs, owing to the restrictions it imposes on both diet and amusement. Hence I do not remember in the course of my journey to have heard a single note of music, still less to have witnessed the performance of the Romaïka dance, which has been so frequently remarked for its close correspondence with Homer's description of that popular among his countrymen in his own day; and, if we may trust him, since the days of Theseus and Ariadne.‖ At any other period I should probably have also had many more and better opportunities of observing the correspondence between the present mode of preparing the more substantial articles of food, and that with which we are familiar in the pages of classic writers, and of Homer in particular. A distinguished German scholar and Philhellene, who passed several years in

* iii. 40. † See *Il.* and *Od. passim.*

‡ Athen. iii. p. 94. c. Aristoph. *Pax.* 717.

§ Athen. l. i., p. 12. c. ‖ *Il.* xviii. 590. *seq.*

Greece during the unsettled period immediately subsequent to the emancipation, and whose lot it had been, on various occasions, to bivouac with parties of Palikars when on service, assured me that their mode of dressing their animal food corresponded, almost to the letter, with that described by the poet in numerous familiar passages of his works.* A large fire of wood is kindled, and allowed to burn to embers, which are strewed in a circle on the hearth. Both flesh and entrails of the animal are then cut into small pieces, and fastened on wooden spits or skewers, which are either stuck in the ground, so as to expose the meat to the effect of the fire, or held over it in the hands like toasting-forks. The entrails on such occasions are served first, as at the table of my Spartan landlord. But for the restrictions of Lent, some of the nights we spent in the khans would doubtless have enabled me to witness the same ceremony.

Trifling as may be the influence of genuine Christianity on the population of this country, whether laity or clergy, yet the superstitious veneration for the letter of their own church discipline, is certainly one of the most prominent features of their character. This is a consequence no doubt, in part, of the centuries of persecution and contempt to which their worship and its ordinances have been exposed, and which, by a very natural reaction, tend to attach the minds of men the more strongly to habits, of little or no value in themselves, and likely, if left unmolested, speedily to become extinct. The clergy, certainly a most degraded class, are personally objects of no esteem whatever; yet in their spiritual capacity, each village papa or beggarly monk is as infallible as the pope in the Vatican. The same man who would, without remorse, cut the throat of a passenger for the sake of a few

* *Il*, i. 463.; ix. 210., et alibi.

dollars, would not dare to spend an obolus of his ill-gotten gain during Lent, on any more substantial food than bread, garlic, or dried olives. Dispensations from the rigour of this observance, on account of health or other reasonable causes, are unusual, and far less easily obtained than in the Roman church; and instances are not uncommon of delicate persons sacrificing their lives to this absurd article of their religious discipline. Even fish, which with the Catholics is exempted from the general interdict against animal food, is here little less strictly forbidden than beef or mutton.

Herein may also perhaps be discovered a remnant of ancient manners. The partiality of the Greeks, during their best ages, for fish as an article of subsistence, is evinced by the whole tenor of that portion of their extant literature which bears allusion to their domestic habits; and several kinds of fish bore the palm among the ancient epicures over every other class of delicacy. In these maritime countries it was also as common as it was a popular food, and seems to have been to the population at large very much what butcher meat is to us. Hence it was, as we learn from the most profound gastronome of antiquity,* that the term *opson*, or *opsarion*, literally any species of seasoning to the bread or vegetables that formed the ordinary diet of the middle and lower class, and which, with the ancient epic writers, signifies flesh meat, came in the familiar usage of later times to be exclusively applied to fish. It was, therefore, the more natural that the Greeks, in establishing their rules of fasting, should class this article of diet, like animal food, under the head of luxuries or solids, rather than of abstemious living.

The Spartan commandant was much the best specimen of a native Greek that I met with on my passage

*Athen Lib. vii. c. i., § 4. *conf.* Aristoph. *Equit.* 649, 816, &c.

through his country. By birth a Hydriote, he had served through the war in the navy, chiefly as a bruloteer, the most distinguished branch of that distinguished service; and his appointment, on the reduction of the maritime establishment, to a permanent military situation on shore, may be considered a sort of guarantee of his own personal merit. His manner and conversation displayed but little of the vivacity, still less of the garrulity, common to his race; but, with much natural good breeding, were marked by a *laconic* gravity and simplicity that well became his new office of Spartan magistrate. When speaking, however, on any more exciting subject, especially on the national destinies, either past or present, he became more animated, and displayed much patriotic enthusiasm, untinged, however, with any sort of bombast or fanfaronnade. He entertained me with various interesting anecdotes of his past services, and with just and original remarks on the present state of public affairs. My practice in the modern Greek tongue was never sufficient for carrying on what could be called a connected discourse, while he was altogether unversed in the ancient dialect, and knew but a very few words of Italian. Yet we managed, how I can scarcely tell, to maintain a constant if not a very coherent conversation, during several hours of each evening that we spent together. It happened, however, occasionally, that we found ourselves completely at fault, and came to a dead stand-still, the awkwardness of which I endeavoured to relieve by a laugh, in which he heartily joined; we then, if unsuccessful in our efforts to resume the old scent, endeavoured to start a less puzzling game. My bottle of rum was here of little service; for although familiarized with the sort of beverage on board the ships of Cochrane and Hastings, under each of whom he had served, he did not seem much to relish it, partaking of it

but sparingly, as a matter of compliment rather than taste. Of Hastings he spoke in warm terms of admiration, but had less to say in favour of Cochrane; and certainly the Greek cruises of that celebrated officer will not be recorded as the most successful portion of his career.

He professed the most loyal attachment to the person of his young sovereign, but criticized with freedom, although with good temper and feeling, some of the measures of his court, and the prevailing system of foreign innovation on the native customs and privileges. The day on which I left him was that of a grand ecclesiastical festival, with procession and parade, when the public functionaries, both military and civil, were to appear in gala dress. The night before, he produced his full dress uniform, which hë had been putting in order for the occasion, and displayed with a mixture of pride and aversion its richly mounted silver epaulette and shoulder knot, which he condemned as glittering baubles, no way to the taste of Hellenic warriors. Οἱ Ἕλληνες, said he, δὲν θέλουσι ταῦτα τὰ πράγματα,—"The Greeks do not want these things." He then crossed the passage to his own room, and re-entering with his shaggy goat's-hair capote thrown over his shoulders, continued: τοῦτο εἶναι τὸ ὁποῖον θέλουσιν οἱ Ἕλληνες—μετὰ τούτου ἐκάμομεν ταῦτα,—"This is the dress that suits the Greek warrior; with this I have watched or slept many a night on the ship deck or the mountain side; with this we have gained these others, which serve for little other purpose but to empty our pockets." If, as I am led to understand, the cost of these articles, which, as being of distant foreign manufacture, are dearer than in western Europe, was a deduction from his own pay, he certainly may have had cause to complain. His reflections, however, on the Frank system of military dress, as compared with that authorized by na-

tive usage, though sincere no doubt, and in so far just, as limited to his own case, were scarcely fair in a more general application; for the Greek palikars, even in their wildest and most disorganized state, have always been remarkable for a childish love of gaudy and expensive accoutrement.

CHAPTER XLIII.

TUMULUS OF BAPHIÓ—BRIDGE OF XERÓKAMPO—CARRIAGE ROADS OF HEROIC AGE.

καὶ ταύταν μὲν παλαιότεροι
ὁδὸν ἁμαξιτὸν εὗρον.—PIND. *Nem.* vi. 90.

"This bridge and carriage way
Were framed by builders of an ancient day."

THE next morning I was on horseback soon after sunrise, anxious to have the whole day at my disposal, for the purpose of exploring two monuments of great interest. The first of these was a "Treasury" of similar character to those already described at Mycenæ and Orchomenus, situated at a place called Baphió, about one and a-half hour's ride down the plain; the second, a relic of a still more remarkable description. At Athens, I had happened in conversation with Dr Ross to express my conviction, grounded partly on the evidence of the remains of Œniadæ, partly on speculative arguments, that the regular arch of concentric blocks, the knowledge of which is generally supposed to have been first communicated to the Greeks by the Romans at a comparatively late period, had really been practised by the former people from the remotest antiquity. I was glad to find that his opinion coincided with my own, and he mentioned that in the course of his excursions in the interior of the country, he had observed specimens of this style of structure, ruined or entire, which he felt convinced must date from a period long prior to any influence of Roman customs

upon Greece. The one to which he attached the greatest importance was a bridge of Cyclopian masonry, not far from Sparta, with an arch in a complete state of preservation. As, however, the remote architectural antiquities of Greece were not with him an object of especial research, he had neither taken a sketch of it, nor any particular note of its dimensions or general character. I was therefore the more bent on fully exploring and examining so curious a monument.

Attended by Nicóla and the soldier who had acted as my cicerone the day before, I proceeded southwards through mulberry and olive groves direct for Sklavochóri, the ancient Amyclæ, distant about an hour's ride. This is a poor hamlet, exhibiting no other traces of its former distinction than a few massive blocks of masonry scattered among the trees. Beyond, the plain assumes a more open champaign character. To the left, not far from the village, is a Turkish pyrgo or tower, deserted, but apparently in tolerable preservation. It is situated in the midst of a small park or pleasure ground, planted with evergreens, and surrounded by a ruinous wall. I observed several other similar structures in ruins in different parts of the plain. They are lofty narrow buildings, with very few small windows, and pepper-box turrets at the angles, bearing a considerable resemblance to the Scottish baronial residences of the sixteenth century; and like them combining the character of fortress and country seat. The name Baphió was marked on my map, so that I had no great difficulty in finding the site of the "Treasury," about a mile to the south of the tower. It is, like that of Mycenæ, a tumulus, with an interior vault, entered by a door on one side, the access to which was pierced horizontally through the slope of the hill. Its situation, on the summit of a knoll, itself of rather conical form, while it increases the apparent size of the tumu-

lus, adds much to its general loftiness and grandeur of effect. The roof of the vault, with the greater part of its material, is now gone, its shape being represented by a round cavity or crater on the summit of the tumulus. Count Capo d'Istria enjoys the credit of its destruction. The doorway is still entire. It is six feet wide at its upper and narrower part. The stone lintel is fifteen feet in length. The vault itself was probably between thirty and forty feet in diameter.

Menelaus is said to have been buried at Amyclæ. This, therefore, may have been the royal vault of the Spartan branch, as the Mycenæan monument was of the Argive branch of the Atridan family.

The discovery of the bridge was not so easy a matter. The only information communicated by Dr Ross was, that it lay at the foot of Mount Taÿgetus, about three hours' ride to the south of Sparta, and traversed one of the streams that descend from the mountains to the Eurotas. We proceeded, therefore, from Baphió to the base of the mountains, and coasting along it to the southward, enquired from cottage to cottage, and from village to village, but for long without success. Every country fellow we met had his own favourite bridge, which he was sure must be the one we were in quest of; and in the course of my researches it is probable I inspected the greater part of the small number of miserable Turkish bridges, over brook or ditch, in this portion of the Spartan plain. At length we fell in with a man who said he knew of one, the stones of which were as large as chests, and laid without mortar. This piece of intelligence at once conducted us to the spot. On emerging from a thick grove of olives, and turning up a ravine to the right, the object of our pursuit presented itself full in front; and, with the exception perhaps of the Lion gate of Mycenæ, I scarcely know a monument, the first

view of which produced so powerful an impression on my mind.

No entire ancient bridge of any kind—still less an arched bridge of a genuine Hellenic period, had hitherto been known to exist within the limits of Greece; and even the ability of the Greek masons to throw an arch had been very generally questioned. Here I saw an arched bridge of considerable size and finished structure, and in a style of masonry which guarantees it a work of the remotest antiquity—probably of the heroic age itself. This monument, therefore, while it tangibly connects us with a period of society separated from our own by so wide a blank in the page of history, realizes to our senses a state of art to all appearance proper and peculiar to itself; and which, but for the existence of this and a few other venerable remains of the same class, might be considered (as the men by whom they were constructed have been, by some modern schools of sceptics) to be but the unreal visions of a poetical fancy. The beauty of its situation adds much to its general effect. It is built just were the stream it traverses, a respectable tributary of the Eurotas, issues from one of the deepest and darkest gorges of Taÿgetus. I could learn no other name for this river than that of the neighbouring village on its banks, which is called Xerókampo, (Dry-field.) It brings down a considerable body of water, dammed up immediately below the bridge for the supply of the village fountain. For the general character and appearance of the structure, I must refer to the annexed drawing.* The masonry of the arch, the piers, and the portions of wall immediately connected with either, are ancient, and in good preservation. The parapet is modern, of poor rubble work, and where the outer Cyclopian facing of the retaining wall at the extremity of each flank has

* Plate vii., No. 1.

No 1.

J. Netherclift & Son.

BRIDGE OF XERÓKAMPO.

No 2.

SALLY-PORT AT TIRYNS.

ROYAL ACADEMY

fallen away, traces are also visible of Turkish repairs. The span of the arch is about twenty-seven feet; the breadth of the causeway, between the parapets, from six to seven. Each parapet is about one foot three inches in thickness, giving nine or ten feet for the whole breadth of the arch. There are no visible remains of pavement. Although the precipitous nature of the ground rendered it impossible to obtain any full view of the upper or western front of this monument, I was yet enabled to ascertain that the masonry is at least as well preserved on that side, as on the one represented in the annexed engraving.

The largest stones are those of the arch; some of them may be from four to five feet long, from two to three in breadth, and between one and two in thickness. In size and proportions they are nearly similar to those which form the interior lining of the Heroic sepulchres of Mycenæ, and the whole character of the work leads to the impression of its being a structure of the same epoch that produced those monuments. Even those who may not be willing to acquiesce in this view, will scarcely venture to dispute its genuine Hellenic, or rather Spartan antiquity. Apart from the style of the masonry, it is hardly in a situation to admit of its being a work either of the Macedonian or Roman periods; lying as it does in this remote corner of the peninsula, where in later times it is little likely there could have been a thoroughfare of sufficient importance to warrant such expensive undertakings. Its existence, therefore, seems sufficient in itself to establish the use of the arch in Greece at a very remote epoch.*

The preservation of this monument also tends to

* Apart from the evidence adduced here and in previous portions of this journal, some additional arguments in favour of the opinion here advocated, have been advanced in an article in the Annals of the Roman

throw light on another point of some interest in the history of early Greek civilization. It is generally supposed, and to a certain extent perhaps with justice, that the Greeks, amid all their advance in abstract science, were comparatively backward in some of the most important practical arts of civilized life, more especially in all that relates to interior communication by means of roads, bridges, &c. This was indeed in some measure a natural consequence of certain peculiar features, both of the geography of their native land, and of their social system. In a country intersected in every direction by the sea, and inhabited by a people partial to a maritime life, the facilities of water communication would in some degree supersede the necessity of roads on a grand scale, while the lofty mountain ridges of the interior offered formidable obstacles to their construction. Other difficulties arose from the political subdivision of the Hellenic territory. Even under more favourable circumstances, the combination of numerous small bodies politic, for the purpose of great national undertakings, must always be attended with difficulty. But the interests and prejudices of the petty states into which Greece was separated by these very mountain ridges, disposed them perhaps rather to impede than to facilitate the regular traffic across them. Convenient roads for wheel carriages through such a country, could only be the work of a powerful empire; and even the great undertakings of the Romans seem to have been limited to comparatively level districts. Such routes as those which now lead across the Alps, were reserved for the accumulated necessities and more extensive resources of modern civilization.

Archæological Institute, (vol. x. p. 141;) where I have endeavoured to show, by reference to the text of Pausanias, compared with the existing remains, that the "Treasury" of Minyas at Orchomenus was vaulted on the principle of the arch of concentric layers.

There are, however, many strong evidences, both of a practical and a speculative nature, that under all these disadvantages, this branch of internal economy was, according to the use and fashion of the age, carried, even at the remotest period of antiquity, to a much higher degree of perfection in Greece than has usually been supposed. Travellers have long been in the habit of remarking the frequent occurrence of wheel ruts in every part of that country, often in the remotest and least frequented mountain passes, where a horse or mule can now with difficulty find a track. The term *rut* must not here be understood in the sense of a hole or inequality worn by long use and neglect in a level road, but of a groove or channel, purposely scooped out at distances adapted to the ordinary span of a carriage, for the purpose of steadying and directing the course of the wheels, and lightening the weight of the draught, on rocky or precipitous ground, in the same manner as the sockets of our railroads. Some of these tracts of stone railway,* for such they may in fact be called, are in a good state of preservation, chiefly where excavated in strata of solid rock. Where the nature of the soil was not equally favourable, the level was probably obtained by the addition of flags filling up the inequalities. It seems now to be generally admitted, by persons who have turned their attention to the subject, that this was the principle on which the ancient Greek carriage roads were constructed on ground of this nature.

But independently of this fact, there are historical arguments to warrant the belief, that Greece must have been intersected with carriage roads in every direction from the earliest period. How else could the numerous

* In the streets of the steeper parts of some of our own towns, Glasgow, for example, recourse has been had to the same expedient.

chariots that periodically flocked from every corner of the country to the great national games, have reached their destination? The evidences are here perhaps still stronger in favour of the heroic than of the historical period. It were difficult to understand how the poetical traditions concerning the extensive use of chariots, both in war and on journeys, could have suggested themselves, unless carriage roads had been common at the epoch to which they refer, or at least at the one little less remote in which they were embodied. How, for instance, could the story of Laïus being on his way from Thebes in a chariot to consult the oracle of Delphi, when met and slain by his son Œdipus in the defiles of Parnassus, have come into vogue, unless a practicable carriage road had led across the mountain to the sanctuary?—a work which it would require many long years of flourishing finance to enable the present Greek government to undertake, even should it ever be found practicable. Nor is it easy to see how the block of Pentelic marble, which forms the architrave of the Minyean vault, and which cannot weigh much less than fifteen or twenty tons, could have been transported from the quarries of Attica to Orchomenus, unless by a similar facility of communication. Among the numerous other illustrations of this point which Greek fable supplies, we shall be satisfied with here directing our attention to one more immediately bearing on the origin or history of the monument which first suggested these observations.

Homer describes Telemachus, on his visit to Menelaus, as performing the journey from Pylos (now Navarin)* to Sparta in two days, reposing the first night at Pheræ,

* *Odyss.* iii., *in fine*, iv. *initio*. For the explanation of any difficulties that might here occur relative to the identity of the Homeric Pylos with the bay of Navarin, the reader is referred to LEAKE'S *Morea*, vol. i., p. 416, *seq.*

now Calamata, in the Messenian gulf. From Pylos to Pheræ is an easy day's journey, but that from Pheræ to Sparta offers greater difficulty, in consequence of the interposition of the formidable ridge of Taÿgetus. I had myself a personal motive for enquiring into the merits of this case, while engaged, on the evening of our arrival at Sparta, in chalking out, with the aid of my landlord, the route to be pursued on resuming our journey. I was anxious, if possible, to cross over the Taÿgetus to Calamata, on my way to the ruins of Messene, instead of following the easier but more circuitous route up the Eurotas, by Leondári; partly from a desire to explore the recesses of that noble mountain, partly for the purpose of becoming personally acquainted with the Maïnote tribes in their own inexpugnable hold. The ordinary route from Sparta to Calamata I found to be in the direct line between the two places, over the loftiest and most precipitous region of the mountain. The journey in favourable seasons is habitually performed in a day. The track however, at all times difficult, was now pronounced to be dangerous, if not impracticable, from the snow; so that our passage, even had we succeeded in effecting it, would, in all probability, have occupied at least two days, which was more than I had to dispose of. I was therefore reluctantly obliged to abandon the plan. The next point was how to save the credit of Homer, since it seemed evident, from the description given, that the difficulties of this line must have been beyond the resources even of an heroic engineer. On looking along the mountain, however, to the southward, as laid down on a very excellent map, for the use of which on my journey I was indebted to the kindness of Sir Howard Douglas, I observed, at about one-third of the distance towards Cape Matapan, indications of a considerable hollow, or valley, extending over the crown of the ridge, in the centre of

which was marked a village called Kumustá. Here, therefore, I was willing to suppose might have been a pass capable of affording a carriage road from Pheræ, by a somewhat more circuitous line. The next day we discovered the bridge of Xerókampo, the dimensions of which, it has been seen, prove it to have been intended for the use of wheel carriages; and, on enquiry, I ascertained that the track of which its causeway is now the lower extremity, is in fact at this day a common, though less direct, bridle-road across the mountain, to the Messenian plain. There can therefore be little doubt, that this is the line of route which Homer makes Telemachus travel; and every thing warrants the belief, that the poet himself, if not his hero, may have passed over this very bridge. The distance to Calamata by this line may be about fifteen hours, or near forty miles; a long journey, no doubt, in such a country, but not probably beyond the force of a pair of steeds from the mews of the "Gerenian horseman, Nestor."

The village of Xerókampo has an unusually pleasing aspect. It is embedded in a grove of olives, and seems, from the appearance of the cottages, to have escaped, like some of its neighbours in this remote corner of the country, the ravages of the war. As we sat eating our luncheon on a carpet of smooth greensward, under the shade of the trees, I was struck with the fine forms of the women as they passed to and from the fountain. They were certainly the tallest and best-looking I saw in this country. Other travellers have remarked the beauty of the Laconian women.* That this district was similarly distinguished in early times, we learn from the epithet καλλιγύναικα, applied to it by Homer; and from the circumstance that it was the native land of Helen, the eponyme heroine of Grecian beauty.

* Leake's *Morea*, vol. i., p. 149.

On our return we followed a track running nearer to the base of Taÿgetus, leaving Sklavochóri to the right, and reached Sparta about sunset. I can remember but few days of more unalloyed enjoyment than that which I spent in wandering over this fair region, in search of monuments of the greatest rarity and interest, under a bright and balmy heaven, and surrounded by every object calculated to enchant the eye, or to warm the imagination.

CHAPTER XLIV.

MESSENIA—ARISTOPHANIC FROGS—TRIANGULAR BRIDGE OF MAURO-ZÚMENO—ITHOME—CONSTANTÍN—MESSENIAN DÉMARCHUS AND FAMILY.

THE next morning, (Friday, April 6th,) the lame horse of our cavalcade was pronounced unfit for further use. We were therefore obliged, much to our regret, to part with our good-humoured Nauplian agoghiate, my comrade in the engagement with the Lernæan Hydra, and to procure other beasts from Misitrá for the prosecution of our journey by Leondári to Messene. A still more serious loss was that of my English saddle; and I again resumed my exalted position on the summit of a pile of cloaks. Our new attendants, three in number, brothers, and all fine athletic youths, seemed to be genuine representatives of the Scythian tribes by whom this district was overrun during the middle ages. I never saw three sets of more regular Tartar features. During the first half of our day's journey, the route lay up the right bank of the Eurotas. The country has no very striking features, offering a succession of open glades, bounded by hills partially clothed with wood. To the right, within two hours' distance of Sparta, the summit of a projecting height on the left bank of the stream, overhanging one of the narrowest defiles, exhibits vestiges of Hellenic walls, the remains, it may be presumed, of one of the castles protecting the passes from Arcadia into the Spartan plain. A little way on, the margin of the same

bank of the river is faced with a parapet of Cyclopian masonry, evidently for the protection of a meadow of rich alluvial soil.

The Spartan Commandant seemed to have no doubt of the security of the roads, at least for the first half day's journey. He had, however, given us the escort of the same man who had acted as my orderly since my first arrival at his headquarters; with instructions to accompany us as far as we might need him, or until relieved at another station; to enquire into the state of the country as we passed; and to take additional escort where necessary, or where it could be procured. Our new protector was a swarthy hard-featured Asiatic Greek, who had served through the war with his chief, and was most devotedly attentive to my comfort and safety, never allowing me to be a moment out of his sight in places where danger was apprehended. He wore neither gaiter nor stocking, but, in other respects, was dressed and equipped in the European fashion; his arms, a carbine, pistol, and sword. Some conversation took place on the road as to the proper place for halting to refresh, in the course of which, hearing Nicóla utter an expression of surprise and concern, I asked what was the matter. He said he had been proposing to rest at a certain khan, his former halfway house on this journey, but was informed that, in consequence of his old acquaintance the khanjee having been murdered, and the establishment plundered by the Klephts about a year before, it had been abandoned. The agoghiates indeed asserted, that the route was now far from safe, several caravans having been robbed the day before within the limits of our present day's journey; I afterwards had evidence, that their authority was as much to be depended on as that of the Commandant.

Soon after, we passed the khan, shut up and deserted, and it was proposed that we should halt at a place called

Plátano or the Plane-tree. This name I supposed to be that of a village, or perhaps of another khan. But on arriving at our destined place of refreshment, I found it was in the literal sense what its title denoted, an enormous plane-tree, from the roots of which flowed copious streams of fine water, realizing to the letter Homer's description of the scene of the ominous sacrifice of the Greek chiefs before leaving Aulis for Troy:

καλῇ ὑπὸ πλατανίστῳ ὅθεν ῥέεν ἁγλαὸν ὕδωρ.*

"Beneath a beauteous plane, from whence a stream
Of purest water flow'd."

It was the first of this classic species of fountain I had yet met with, but each succeeding day's journey presented several others. Throughout the whole of Messenia and Western Arcadia, a striking feature of the scenery are these copious perennial springs, gushing from the base of the mountains. They are for the most part similarly adorned with gigantic plane-trees, the fibres of whose roots are interlaced with the separate channels in which the water finds issue. The oriental plane every where prefers a situation where it can bathe its roots in fresh water; and hence, throughout the countries where it chiefly flourishes, and which I believe are Southern Greece and Asia Minor, they are commonly to be seen by the side of rivers and fountains. The only respectable tree of this class I had previously seen, was that in the village of Kiphisía, where our party mustered on the expedition to Marathon. With the exception of a few ragged forests of pine or oak on the mountain tops, almost every species of timber has disappeared from the face of the remainder of the country we had hitherto traversed since leaving the banks of the Acheloüs. But Messenia, Western Arcadia, and Elis, besides these fine ornaments of the banks of their streams, are covered with noble forests of oak and fir in every direction.

* *Il.* ii. 307

After leaving the Plátano we were assailed by torrents of rain, which lasted several hours, when the sky again partially cleared, and on reaching the summit of a long ascent of rugged forest ground, a fine view opened up of the rich vale of Megalopolis, backed by the Lycean mountains. Turning to the westward, we soon after reach Leondári, or rather its ruins. To judge from them, this place must have been the residence of wealthy Turks—as the yet standing walls of many of its houses are several stories in height, with pointed windows and arabesque tracery, offering some favourable specimens of Byzantine or Saracenic architecture. On descending into the valley below, we enter an extensive forest of oaks, remarkable both for size and picturesque beauty; but for the most part in a state of decay. In riding through its mazes, in the dusk of the evening, about a hundred yards ahead of the cavalcade, I found myself suddenly in front of a troop of ten or twelve armed men. The alarm excited by this apparition was allayed on observing them to be headed by a gendarme. On the rest of our party coming up, a parley ensued, when we found that they were a detachment of civic guard, on the look-out for a band of nearly an equal number of Klephts, who had infested that district since daybreak, and robbed every caravan that fell in their way. Congratulating ourselves on our own escape, we soon after reached the khan of Dervéni,* situated in a hollow pass immediately above the plain of Messene. This establishment boasted an upper chamber or loft, full of lumber and agricultural implements, which was allotted to me for my private accommodation,

* Dervéni is a common Turkish noun, signifying literally a guard-house; and, by courtesy, the passes or defiles, which, in Turkish times, were generally occupied by such establishments. In the present instance, however, it seemed to attach as a proper name—for I could learn no other—to the group of cottages to which the khan belongs.

but swarmed with fleas to such an excess as to place sleep out of the question.

The next morning (April 7) was again bright and clear, and though piercing cold, the forerunner of a hot day. On emerging from the pass, the traveller enters upon the flat green plain of Stenyclerus, bounded by the range of mountains which formed the stronghold of the Messenians in the Spartan wars. Rising abruptly in a somewhat insulated cluster from the level valley, they have a very majestic appearance. The two principal features of the ridge are Mounts Ithome and Evan, contiguous to each other. The former and loftier of the two, as seen from this point, is a colossal mass of rock and greensward, with a flat top and precipitous sides. The latter, forming the southern extremity of the range, rises in the form of a cone. Its summit and sides, with those of the intermediate ridge connecting the two, are sprinkled with forest and brushwood.

At the foot of the defile, on the verge of the plain, we pass the khan of Sákona, an hotel of some celebrity in the journals of Gell and other old travellers, and from thence continue in as straight a line as the partial inundation of the meadows, and the brooks and ditches by which they are intersected, will admit, for the point of the mountain from whence the ascent commences to the ruins of the city. The plain of Messenia was celebrated above all others in Peloponnesus for its fertility, and to all appearance justly. The soil seems to be of the richest quality, and is capable of being thoroughly irrigated. The number and copiousness of its streams and sources is indeed a distinctive peculiarity of this region, and one much dwelt on by the ancients.* It is, however, but

* . . καλλίκαρπον. . .
κατάρρυτόν τε μυρίοισι νάμασι,
καὶ βουσὶ καὶ ποίμναισιν εὐζωοτάτην

very partially cultivated; in few districts, indeed, have I observed a greater apparent want of agricultural industry. A large portion of its surface is overgrown with that rank bulbous plant which, among the ancients, bore the name of Asphodel, called, I believe, Squill in our own tongue, and which, in every part of Greece, springs up indigenously as the most inveterate weed, wherever it can fasten its root undisturbed by the labour of the husbandman. It forms the chief clothing of the stony mountain sides, both of Greece and southern Italy, nestling itself in every patch of soil in the clefts of the rocks. The mountains of western Locris were so covered with it, that the strong smell of its flower was adduced as one among the various explanations of the uncourteous epithet "Stinking," (Ozolian,) by which that region was designated.* But I never saw it in such quantity and luxuriance on any portion of arable land as on this plain, where its long stalks and bushy tufts offered a considerable impediment to the progress of our beasts. An explanation here suggests itself of the obscure title of "Aspodel meadow," applied by Homer to the region on the banks of the Tartarian river Acheron. There could not certainly be a more appropriate mode of imparting to the fields of Erebus that dreary dismal character which in Homer's mythology attaches to them, than by figuring them as low deep land, overgrown with the rank weed, which, on the soil of his own native country, was the mark of desolation and neglect.

Not far from the base of the mountain, we pass through a village fortified on every side by hedges of Cactus, a plant more familiar perhaps to some of my readers by

οὔτ' ἐν πνοαῖσι χείματος δυσχείμερον,
οὔτ' αὖ τεθρίπποις ἡλίου θερμὴν ἄγαν.
EURIP. *frag. ap.* STRAB. viii. 6.

* PAUSAN. *Phoc.* xxxviii.

the name of prickly pear, or Indian fig, forming the inclosures of its courts and gardens. They are the loftiest and strongest of their kind I have ever seen, rising to such a height as to overtop and conceal the houses they protect. In Greece this plant is not common, however well adapted to its soil. Theophrastus * says it was unknown within its bounds in his time, but very common in Sicily. These were larger and more luxuriant than any I ever saw in that island. Just before reaching this village, we cross one of the numerous tributaries of the Maurozúmeno, the ancient Balyra, and the chief river of the Messenian vale. Its banks are covered with tortoises, which, as we coast along in search of a bridge or ford, throw themselves in successive detachments with a loud splash into the water.

Here it was that I first had my attention called to the peculiar croak of the Greek frog, which now began with advancing spring to be heard in the marshy grounds, and which, while not altogether strange to my ear, struck me at the same time as different from that of the same animal in any other country where I had happened to hear it. It consists of two varieties of note, the first of which cannot be better described than by comparing it to the familiar sound made between the tongue and the gum or palate, in order to excite the speed of horses. The second is a mixture of a croak and a quack. These two sounds, whether proceeding both from the same frog—or proper, the one to the old, the other to the young frog—the one to the male, the other to the female—I was unable to ascertain, succeed each other at intervals with great regularity, the first being repeated rather oftener than the second; nor were it possible to convey them more accurately to the apprehension by written language, than has been done by the *Vrekekekex*,

* *Ap.* Athen. l. ii., p. 70. D.

koax, koax, of Aristophanes. This coincidence caused me a sort of gratification which none but an enthusiastic Hellenist will be able to appreciate; and the song of these "sons of the morass" formed a most agreeable relief in the sequel, to many a dreary hour's march on the swampy plains of the coast of Elis.

Passing the village, and crossing some green knolls beyond it, we reach the celebrated triangular bridge over the Maurozúmeno. This work is remarkable, as well from its curious form, as from offering, if I am not mistaken, the only remains of a genuine Hellenic bridge now extant, with the exception of that of Xerókampo. The peculiarity of its plan has been suggested by the circumstance, that the river at this point, besides receiving a tributary, is divided into several channels, over which the communication could not have been so easily provided in a direct line, while the intervals of terra firma offered a convenient foundation for the piers. It consists of three branches or arms, meeting in a common centre, one of which has four openings for the passage of the water, the second three, the third* but one.

All are arched, with the exception of the smallest of the four belonging to the longer branch, which is entirely of ancient masonry, and covered with a flat architrave of a single stone. The piers and retaining walls of the remainder of the structure are also in whole or in part

* It seems doubtful whether this branch be a portion of the original structure. The present work is apparently modern, but may be on ancient foundations.

ancient, and from the resemblance of their masonry to that of the walls of the neighbouring Messene, may be presumed to be the work of the same period. The arches are entirely modern, nor is there any trace of what may have been the style of the covering which they have supplanted. Several of them at this time were over dry land. The smaller branch indeed is not so much itself a bridge, as a causeway, to give convenient access from the meadows to the principal line, and pierced with an arch for the escape of the waters at periods of inundation.

Soon after commences the steep ascent up the side of Ithome to the ruins of the city. About midway, on the crown of a projecting precipice, is situated the monastery of Vurkáno, by far the most elegant and picturesque modern structure of this, or indeed of any other class, that I saw in Greece. Its outline of flat roofs, well proportioned gables, and light cupolas, relieved by cypress and orange groves, would do credit to a slope of the Apennines. It also commands a fine prospect of the plain of Kalamata, bounded by the sea and Taÿgetus.

The site of the Messenian capital, as restored by Epaminondas, seems to be an extension of that occupied by the ancient fortress of Ithome, celebrated for its twenty years' resistance to the Spartan besiegers. The lower portion of the city was embosomed in a hollow somewhat in the form of a shell, extending on the west side of a sharp ridge, that connects Mounts Ithome and Evan at about one-half their height. The former of these mountains, from which the more ancient city derived its name, became its citadel when restored, and the line of wall is still to be traced, stretching up its nearly perpendicular sides, and over its summit. Mount Evan shows no symptom of ever having been occupied by buildings. The circumference of the walls, following the irregularities of

their line, may be about five miles. They enclose, however, a large space altogether unfit for the site of buildings. Here and there stone substructions of temples and other public edifices are to be seen, but no remains of ornamental architecture or of valuable building material. Neither here, at Sparta, nor at Mantinea, could I find a single fragment of the painted pottery which at Athens, Argos, Mycenæ, Corinth, and indeed almost every other Greek city of distinction, forms a main ingredient of the rubbish that covers their foundations. Great part of the walls, with many of the square towers by which they are strengthened at intervals, are standing almost entire. Their masonry is of the most perfect Hellenic style. Pausanias* describes them as the finest specimens of military architecture he had seen in Greece, or even in Europe. The chief object of interest they now present is the principal gate towards the west, the most elegant extant monument of its class. It consists of an outer and an inner portal, separated by a circular place d'armes, all of large size and beautiful structure. The outer portal is flanked by two strong rectangular bastions. The whole is, comparatively speaking, in a fine state of preservation. Neither gateway, however, retains its covering, but the enormous flat architrave of the inner one lies, resting in an oblique position, upon the ruins of the wall by which it was formerly supported.†

After halting for our midday repose at the village of Mauromáti, in the centre of the ruins, we quit the enclosure of the city on the opposite side, by the gate just described, and winding round the back of Mount Ithome, rejoin our previous starting-point at the triangular

* *Messen.* xxxi.

† It is eighteen feet eight inches in length, by four feet two inches in breadth, and two feet ten inches in thickness.

bridge, from whence we proceed up the plain to our night's quarters at the village of Konstantín, situated on a rocky slope at its upper extremity. I was once more lodged in the house of the Démarchus, or mayor, a substantial stone structure just completed, with date and inscription on a slab of the gable, and which may therefore be taken as a fair sample of the dwellings of the upper class of Messenian peasantry at this period. It was a single oblong building, with a gable roof projecting at right angles to the hill, so as to comprise a lower floor at its outer extremity, with a separate entry destined for the accommodation of cattle. The upper story consisted of one room, extending the whole length of the building, and serving the family "for kitchen, and parlour, and bedroom, and all." The floor of one end was the natural soil of the hill, left for a hearth; the rest was planked. It contained no furniture, except a wooden chest or two ranged along the wall, and a few filthy rush mats. The roof of the room was the same as that of the house, the bare rafters and tiles forming the only ceiling. There were a few small windows, or rather apertures in the wall, with wooden shutters, but no chimney, the smoke escaping through the tiles. The door, which opens at once on the apartment, is approached by a terrace on its own level, supported by a retaining wall at right angles to that of the house. This plan is more or less common to the whole cottage architecture of the mountain district of Messenia, most of the towns and villages being situated on similar ground; and, if relieved by a few respectable public edifices, the exterior effect would be picturesque enough.

The family consisted of the Démarchus and his wife, both elderly persons; two nearly full-grown daughters, pretty girls, with elegant forms, but not classical features;

several small children, and a fine-looking young man, who called himself clerk to the Démarchus. Later in the evening they were joined by one or two other men, whether in the capacity of servants, relations, or guests, I did not ascertain. As night fell in, the party collected round the fire in the usual squatting posture; cooked and ate their supper; and after chatting for about an hour, lay down on their respective mats, or portions of mat, huddled together, old and young, male and female, and slept till morning. It was Saturday night; but neither before nor after repose was there any preparation, either in the way of ablution, change of raiment, or devotional exercise, for the Sunday. Such is the domestic life of this people all the year round. In the khans, or in the dwellings of the very lowest class, these swinish habits need excite no surprise. But in a country which claims to have taken rank among the nations of Christian Europe, in the family of the chief magistrate of a considerable community, and of a respectable landed proprietor, as I was assured my landlord was, one expects to find the scale of human comfort raised a slight degree higher above that of the brutes. As regards personal cleanliness, indeed, the inmates of the ground-floor of this primitive establishment may be said to possess the advantage, that their nakedness preserves them from much of the filth that accumulates on the load of unchanged and unwashed drapery with which their masters above stairs are adorned. Both the Démarchus and his clerk were well bred and obliging, and persons of some education in their way. The latter, as may be supposed, was the better scholar of the two, and possessed sufficient knowledge of the ancient tongue to read with considerable interest Pausanias' description of his native district. I arranged my couch at the furthest extremity of the apartment; but all

precautions of sweeping and watering the surrounding floor were vain against the assaults of myriads of fleas. For this accommodation I paid, the hospitality of the Démarchus being altogether venal, about double the price of a good bed-room in a first-class Italian hotel.

CHAPTER XLV.

ARCADIA—TEMPLE OF BASSÆ—ANDRITZENA—VALE OF ALPHEUS—MOKRITZA—LAWLESS STATE OF THE COUNTRY.

ἀλλ' οὐ δύναμαι δείλαιος εὕδειν δακνόμενος·
ὦ Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ, τὸ χρῆμα τῶν νυκτῶν ὅσον,
ἀπέραντον! οὐδέποθ' ἡμέρα γενήσεται;
καί μὲν πάλαι γ' ἀλεκτρυόνος γ' ἤκουσ' ἐγώ.
ARISTOPH. *Nub. Init.*

'Alas! I'm bitten sore—I cannot sleep.—
Ye gods, how long the nights are in this land!
Will daylight never dawn? And yet the cock
Both oft and loud hath crow'd."

THE next day (Sunday, April 8th) we reached the temple of Apollo Epicurius at Bassæ, called five hours distant, in about nine. This uncertainty of calculating distance by hours of march, I had frequent occasion to experience. The agoghiates, however, in the present case, were not fully acquainted with the route, and we were obliged to procure guides from village to village. Nicóla's memory had also betrayed him in his estimate of the length of the journey. The country we traversed is singularly wild and romantic, covered to about half its extent with forest. The valleys are narrower and more precipitous than usual; and our route, instead of winding along, lay for the most part across them, alternately up and down precipitous ridges, deep ravines, and brawling water-courses. The population of the district is marked by a rudeness, or even ferocity of appearance and man-

ner, in good keeping with the stern features of their native scenery, but little in unison with the general character of the Greek peasantry. The dogs, as formerly observed, seemed to emulate the spirit of their masters. About halfway to the temple, we pass the rocky hill of Kakaletri, supposed to be the famous Ira, the last stronghold of the Messenians, and the scene of some of the most brilliant achievements of their great struggle for liberty. In the distance towers Mount Lyceum, now Dioforti, partially covered with snow. The summit of this mountain, which is of easy access, is well worth a visit from the traveller more favoured by time and opportunity than myself. It still exhibits remains of the stadium, and other edifices connected with the worship of Jove, to whom it was consecrated, and is strewed in part with burnt bones, remnants, no doubt, of the victims sacrificed to the deity, and which by some singular favour of atmosphere have been so long preserved.* Soon after, from a lofty ridge of rocks overhanging the glen of the Neda, we descry, on another similar ridge on the opposite side, the columns of the temple. But close as they appear to the eye, it takes several hours to reach them, owing to the great depth and steepness of the glen, which requires to be traversed in long lateral courses parallel to each other.

The temple of Bassæ is situated (as its name denotes) in a recess or hollow of the summit of a long table-topped mountain, in the midst of a wilderness of rugged rocks, studded with knotty old oaks, thickening here and there into masses of forest. There is certainly no remnant of the architectural splendour of Greece more calculated to fascinate the imagination than this temple; whether by

* The same phenomenon is said to be observable on the summit of Mount Œnos, now Megalovoúni, in the island of Cefalonia; where was also formerly an altar of Jupiter,

its own size and beauty, by the contrast it offers to the wild desolation of the surrounding scenery, or the extent and variety of the prospect from its site. Looking towards the south, the view extends to the left, across the glen of the Neda and the lower ridges that bound it, to the summits of Mount Lyceum. In front, the eye ranges as far as the sea, across the Messenian plain, with the huge mass of Ithome rising from its level. To its right stretches the range of promontory which separates the bay of Kalamata from that of Navarin; and a little farther in the same direction, the latter gulf itself becomes visible, surrounded by the plain and mountains of Pylos.

Any detailed description of the temple were inconsistent with the plan of this narrative. The subject is one of considerable extent, and has already been exhausted by one of the best antiquaries of the age.* Suffice it to say, that it is of the Doric order, and, among the extant Greek ruins of its class, the next in extent and preservation to the Parthenon; while, by a curious coincidence, it was constructed by the same architect. Pausanias pronounced it to be, with one exception—that of Minerva Alea at Tegea—the temple of Peloponnesus most distinguished for the beauty of its stone and the accuracy of its masonry. The first part of this eulogy is scarcely justified by existing appearances, as the stone now presents a somewhat coarse surface. There are in all five-and-thirty columns of the peristyle now standing,† together with some remains of those of the antæ, and of the interior pilasters of the edifice. Most of the columns still support their architrave. Of the cell little or nothing remains. A

* Stackelberg; *der Apollotempel zu Bassæ.*

† The columns of the peristyle were originally thirty-eight; fifteen on each side, and six in front. They are three feet eight inches in diameter at the base, and about twenty feet in height, including the capital.

considerable portion of the white marble sculptures that adorned the building, excavated by Baron Haller and Mr Cockerell in the year 1812, are now in the British Museum. They bear no comparison with those of the Parthenon, either in point of design or execution, and show that the artists entrusted with the decorative part of the structure, were of a school very inferior to that which produced the architect who planned it.

The most remarkable object among these ruins, in the estimation of my attendants, and to which they insisted on conducting me, immediately on our arrival, with an air of mystery and importance, was a drum of one of the broken columns, upon which King Otho and his Queen spread their table in this wilderness, when they visited the temple in the course of their late progress through Peloponnesus.

From hence we reach Andrítzena, our halting-place for the night, and a town of considerable size, after a ride of about three hours through a country similar in its general features to that we had traversed in the morning. Here again I enjoyed the venal hospitality of one of the most respectable families of the place. The house in which I lodged was new, and, comparatively speaking, commodious. I was allotted the principal apartment for my sole use, with some glass in the windows, and a raised divan or sofa of red cloth, extending along one side. But, in spite of the superior air of external cleanliness, I found the enemies to my repose quite as numerous as in the humbler dwelling of the chief magistrate of Konstantín.

The next morning, (April 9,) on descending from the declivity on which the town is built, we travel through a more open champaign country, bounded to the north by a precipitous ridge, which we traverse by a narrow defile. The brow of the height above the pass is crowned with lines of wall, the remains of the ancient Alipheræ, now

called Nerovitza. On emerging from the defile, a new extent of low country presents itself, richly wooded and well watered. This is the vale of the Alpheus. We coast for some distance along the northern base of the same mountain, the declivities of which on this side are of the finest description of rock scenery, beautifully clothed with forest-trees and evergreens. Every half mile gushes a copious fountain of pure water from the roots of gigantic planes, forming so many tributaries to the sacred stream that flows in the vale below. The features of the landscape now gradually undergo a complete change. The common deciduous oak gives place to the ilex, and soon after to the black round-headed pine, which covers the country on each side of the river in scattered groups, to some distance north of the plain of Olympia. The soil becomes sandy, and the hillocks and rocky eminences which enliven the surface of the valley, assume a variety of fantastical forms, often presenting so close a resemblance to ruined forts or towns, that the illusion is scarcely dispelled till the traveller reaches the spot.

This region is described by Pausanias as precisely similar in character in his own age. In the midst of it, on the left bank of the river, a few miles to the east of Olympia, was Scillus, the favourite retreat of Xenophon, the property of which had been made over to him by the Lacedæmonians, on his banishment from his native state. As it abounded in game, his choice would seem to have been dictated by its adaptation to his favourite pursuit of the chase. Here, accordingly, he dedicated a temple to Diana, the patroness of sportsmen, with the tithe of the spoils acquired by the army of the Ten Thousand.*

Beneath a grove of pines, scattered over the surface

* Pausan. *Eliac.* i. c. 6; Xenoph. *Anab.* v. c. 3.

of an arid waste, we pass the humble tumulus of a distinguished brigand, slain on this spot by the government troops in the course of the civil disturbances subsequent to the war, and of whose exploits and hair-breadth 'scapes my attendants told some marvellous tales.

About sunset we reached the picturesque village of Mókritza, imbedded in olive groves, about a mile distant from the bank of the Alpheus. As we entered the place we observed groups of peasants armed with long guns, sitting at their house doors, or lounging under the trees. On enquiry, I found that the whole neighbourhood was in a state of alarm, in consequence of the outrages of a troop of banditti which had infested the district for a week past, and against whose assaults the country people felt themselves insecure even in their houses. The depredations of these outlaws, it appeared, were of a more desperate character than usual, having been almost invariably attended with bloodshed. They were supposed to amount to fifteen or twenty in whole; but their operations were chiefly conducted in smaller detachments. Two travellers had been assassinated, within a day or two of our arrival, in the defiles in the immediate neighbourhood of the Olympian plain, distant about an hour's ride on the other side of the river. One was killed on the spot, the other was lying in a dangerous state in a khan near the place where he was assaulted. The house of the Démarchus of a neighbouring village had also been plundered, and its master, a man advanced in years, so cruelly tortured, for the purpose of forcing him to reveal his secret treasures, that his death had been the consequence. The mode of torture was described as pouring boiling butter on his stomach. A fourth murder had been committed, as I afterwards learned, the day before we reached this place, about ten miles off, on the road

to Patras. A watch and ward had consequently been established for the protection of the village, consisting of members of the community licensed to carry fire-arms, and bound in terms of their privilege to act as armed police or civic guard.

I was accommodated with a small loft to myself in a private cottage, but was again no better off in my solitary dignity, as regarded my night's rest, than on other previous occasions. Perhaps the best qualification for a tourist in Greece, is an indifference to the bite of domestic vermin. For my own part, the only serious discomforts of which I had to complain in the course of this journey, were those consequent on extreme sensitiveness to the venom of the flea, and of the flea alone; for to the appetite of other creepers that shall be nameless, my blood holds out no temptation. I had here the strongest evidence, from personal experience, how much fatigue a healthy vigorous frame can undergo without sleep. This was the fourth night I passed in succession, without being conscious, when I rose in the morning, of having closed my eyes for a quarter of an hour. But the state of feverish irritation during the wakeful hours, was far worse than the mere insomnolency. I might possibly, in the midst of the sort of delirium it produced, have slumbered for a moment, but was not sensible of having done so, either at the time or afterwards; and mounted my horse in the morning with a still heavier weight about the eyes and head, than when I descended the night before, after a ride of twelve or fourteen hours. But a little of the sharp morning air, a bright sun, a doze on the back of my beast, and the never-failing excitement of a succession of new objects of beauty and interest, proved unfailing restoratives, and before midday I was as fresh and lively as ever.

This midnight restlessness, on the present occasion, was not confined to myself, but shared even by the animal portion of the community of which I was a temporary member. Whether from sympathy with the alarm of their masters for the dangerous state of the neighbourhood, or from their own habitual love of clamour, the village dogs and cocks kept up an incessant barking and crowing the livelong night. This discordant hubbub rose and fell at intervals, sometimes subsiding to a single bark or crow, or even to a temporary silence, and then, on the occurrence of the least noise, a gust of wind, or the voice or footstep of the guards on patrol, again freshening into a full cry of the motley pack. One of the leaders of the feathered portion of the chorus was roosted on the outer ledge of the window of the loft, immediately above my head, and crowed and clapped his wings, upon an average, once every quarter of an hour in the course of the night; each alarum being the signal for a long succession of responses, first on the part of his companions in the immediate neighbourhood, and so gradually dying away in the distance. I was so much diverted by the recollection of the opening address in Lucian's dialogue of "the Cock," and so well convinced from experience, that the exertions of my small black bedfellows would be quite sufficient in themselves to murder sleep without aid from any other quarter, that the music of my noisy sentinel, instead of a disturbance, was perhaps rather a relief to the tedium of the wakeful hours. I was also well satisfied that it should not be superseded by any more serious alarm, in the shape perhaps of a discharge of muskets, announcing an engagement between the Klephts and the village patrol; nor could I therefore, with any fairness, have addressed him in the same terms of reproach with which his ancestor was as-

sailed by Lycippus on the occasion alluded to.* Although I have seldom passed a more comfortless night, yet, owing to the interest of the locality, the oddity and novelty of the circumstances in which I was placed, and a sense of the danger, however slight, to which I could not but be sensible I was exposed, and which tempered with a small tinge of romance the more vulgar and ludicrous peculiarities of my position, there are few to which I now look back with greater pleasure or interest. For as Homer says, with equal truth and elegance :‡

> "The thought of bygone sorrow joy procures,
> To him who travels far, and much endures."

Our Spartan hoplite, whose word was law among the Helot population of the present day, wherever we came, to nearly an equal extent as that of his predecessors in authority among the same class in the olden time, had placed in requisition the services of three or four file of the armed villagers as additional escort on our visit to Olympia. The district around that celebrated spot being embedded in thickets and defiles, and having been the scene of several of the most glaring of the late outrages, seemed to be considered as the headquarters of the outlaws. This man, with whose zeal and intelligence I was well satisfied, managed to stick by me during five days' march; far beyond the bounds of the province to which he was attached, and in contravention, no doubt, of the regulations of his service, which prescribe that escort should be relieved from post to post. But the humours of the journey, apart even from

* ἀλλά σε, ὦ κάκιστε ἀλεκτρυὼν, ὁ Ζεὺς αὐτὸς ἐπιτρίψειε, φθονερὸν οὕτω καὶ ὀξύφωνον ὄντα, κ.τ.λ.

"O, thou accursed cock! May Jupiter himself confound thee, and thy spiteful envious throat," &c.

† —— μετὰ γάρ τε καὶ ἄλγεσι τέρπεσθαι ἀνήρ,
ὅστις δὴ μάλα πολλὰ πάθῃ καὶ πόλλ' ἐπαληθῇ.—
Odyss. xv. 400.

the prospect of an accumulation of fees at its termination, were so agreeable a relief to the monotony of the daily duties at headquarters, that he made no serious attempt to procure a substitute at any of the intermediate stations; and even if called to account by his chief, the slenderness of the force scattered throughout the country might give validity to the pretext that none was to be found.

The Alpheus at this point, though not apparently swoln to any unusual size, was both broad and deep. It is certainly the most respectable of Hellenic streams, with the exception of the Acheloüs. The waters of both are nearly of the same yellowish cream colour, consisting in each, at this season, in a great measure of melted snow. Next to them, the Greek rivers crossed by me may rank in the following order: the Eurotas—the Bœotian Cephissus—and the Elean Peneus, which last I forded next day, on the road to Patras. The apparatus of the ferry of Mókritza is of the most primitive description; the boat, a large monoxylon, or canoe, in the literal sense of the term, scooped out of the bole of an immense plane-tree. It was the property of one of our guards, son of the Papa of Mókritza, to whose enterprise I understood the village and neighbourhood to be indebted for the first formation of such an establishment at this point. The bark was rowed, or rather paddled, across, by a single pair of hands. Nicóla and myself, with the luggage and horse equipage, were first landed on the other side. On the return, two persons entered, each holding the halter of one of the horses, which were driven into the water by those on shore, and forced to swim across behind the boat. Owing to the breadth of the river, and the strength of the current, the place of landing is necessarily at a much lower point than that of embarkation, and at each trip the vessel

loses so much way as to require to be dragged by ropes along-shore for some distance up the stream, to regain its original point of starting. This operation, with the unpacking and repacking of the horses, &c., occupied a considerable time; on re-mustering on the opposite shore, we continue our course up the river for a short distance, and then strike off to the left into the woods, on emerging from which I obtain a full view of the Olympic plain.

CHAPTER XLVI.

OLYMPIA—PYRGO—HOSPITALITY OF ANGLO-IONIAN CONSUL—REMAINS OF ANCIENT GREEK MANNERS.

μάτερ ὦ χρυσοστεφάνων ἀέθλων,
Οὐλυμπία. PIND.

"Olympia! Mother of the golden prize,
The fairest in the Hellenic athletes' eyes."

THERE is a distinctive peculiarity of character in the scenery of this celebrated spot, as compared with any other part of Greece or of Europe visited by me, which adds much to the effect of its real beauty, and to the interest which a first view of it cannot fail to inspire in every cultivated mind. The Alpheus, its banks fringed with sapling planes, here meanders through a small, and not altogether level plain, of a soil naturally rich, but swampy in part, owing to the encroachments of the river, and bounded on every side, except that from which we entered, by hills of no great height, but in many places abrupt and precipitous.* Their surface presents a succession of sandy cliffs of light yellow colour, interspersed with grassy slopes, and studded in every direction with clustering groves or dropping trees of dark green pine.

* From the summit of one of the loftiest of these cliffs, on the left bank of the river, it was ordained that women found guilty of intruding upon the games, or even of crossing the water during their celebration, should be precipitated. This law, however, it was never found necessary to enforce. PAUSAN. *Eliac.* i. 6.

J. Rothwell lithog

Some of these heights project from the main ridge, like capes or promontories, towards the river, enclosing as it were small bays or inlets of the level soil. At the eastern extremity of the plain, the lower hills are backed in the distance by the lofty ridge of Cyllene. The whole scene has an air of mingled wildness and amenity, of cheerfulness and melancholy, which can be better felt than described.

The traditions followed by Pindar,* relative to the ancient state of the Olympian vale, are strangely at variance both with its own natural history and the geography of the rest of Europe. According to him, Hercules, observing the sacred region to be bare of trees, and parched for want of shade, introduced the olive plant from the banks of the Danube. Olympia is now by nature a remarkably well wooded country, while the Danube is certainly not fertile in olives. Strabo says the temple was situated in a grove of wild olives; but no such tree is now to be seen in the neighbourhood.

On entering the open valley from the west, the most conspicuous object is a bold and nearly insulated eminence, rising to the left from the level plain in the form of an irregular cone. This height identifies itself at once with Mount Cronius, in the description of Pausanias,† also frequently noticed by Pindar, and well characterized by him as "geniäl,"‡ having a full south exposure. At its base flows a small tributary of the Alpheus, the ancient Cladeus, which, descending from a retired pastoral dell to the north, forms the western boundary of the Altis or sacred territory of the god. Crossing its bed, the traveller arrives at the ruins of the temple, situated in a central part of the cultivated plain, in a line between Mount Cronius and the Alpheus. This

* *Olymp.* iii. 25, 29. † *Eliac.* i. c. 21; ii. cc. 19, 20.

‡ *Ol.* i. 179. εὐδείελον.

mount forms the western limit of one of the recesses of the plain above mentioned, bounded on the other side by a projecting cape, which supplies in its turn the boundary of another long narrow inlet. Here there can be little doubt was the Stadium, the form of the recess being distinctly marked out by nature for the purpose. Its opposite limit is another similar cape or neck, crossing over which one again finds a third much larger recess of level ground.

At some distance to the eastward of the ruins of the temple, there is a sudden fall or dip in the surface of the plain, forming a bank, stretching in an oblique curve along the base of the projecting heights. Below, extends another stretch of plain, of a marshy desolate character, liable to inundation, and overgrown in part with bushes and water plants. Here the hippodrome has been placed in the received topography of the place, and the authority of Pausanias is perhaps upon the whole favourable to this view. When well embanked and drained, the ground may, no doubt, have been made serviceable for such a purpose; but, in its actual state, it appears about as little adapted to it as can well be imagined.*

The site, plan, and dimensions of the temple have been well ascertained by various excavations, especially that undertaken by the French commission of the Morea. The foundations are still exposed to view, strewed, like the neighbouring ground, with massive drums of stone columns, square blocks, marble fragments, and heaps of rubbish. The building was hexastyle, contrary to the rule of Vitruvius, who specifies the octastyle or decastyle portico as proper to the temples of Jove. This circumstance might warrant doubts of its identity, were it not that these rules of Vitruvius are shown, by various examples, to be but fallacious; while we have other con-

* See additional note at end of volume.

clusive evidence that this really was the temple described by Pausanias. Several fine fragments of the sculptures mentioned by him, representing the labours of Hercules, were brought to light in the French excavation, and deposited in the museum of the Louvre. The columns are upwards of seven feet in diameter, surpassing in thickness those of any other Greek temple of which remains are extant. The only other ruins now visible are a few fragments of brickwork, on the banks of the Cladeus, and near the slope or terrace which separates the upper from the lower level of the plain.

The ancient name of this region, and of its principal town, was Pisa.* That of Olympia was originally proper to the sanctuary; but in the courtesy of later usage came also to comprehend the town and district, of which the sanctuary itself was once but an appendage. There never was a distinct town of Olympia. Pisa was situated at the eastern extremity of the sacred plain. It was destroyed at an early period by the Eleans, who usurped the presidency of the games formerly enjoyed by its inhabitants. The sanctuary and the town, however, are still alluded to as distinct places by Herodotus.† In the ninety-fifth Olympiad, Pisa is described by Xenophon‡ as a poor village; and in the days of Pausanias§ no remains of it were extant, but the site was covered

* For this name two etymologies suggest themselves, both so appropriate and so expressive of the natural features of the district, that although there can be little doubt but that one or other of the two is correct, it were difficult to decide which. The one connects itself with the word πῖσος, a low marshy irrigated plain, or with the same root from whence it derives [ΠΙΩ, πίσω]; the other with πίσσα, the name of the black fir or pine-tree. It is remarkable enough that the Tyrrhenian Pisa is situated in a precisely similar region—namely, a low, warm, marshy flat, interspersed with pine forest.

† ii. 7.

‡ *Hellen.* iii. 2, 31; vii. 4, 29.

§ *Eliac.* ii., c. 22.

with vines. Yet Lucian,* although he mentions its deserted state, still speaks of Pisa as the lodging-place of the visitors at the games, where booths and tents were erected for their accommodation.

The richest part of the plain is in the neighbourhood of the temple. From one of the peasants engaged in tilling its surface, I purchased a bronze helmet, lately dug up by himself in the course of his labours. It is of the natural size and usual form. The crown is gone, but the lower part is well preserved, and pierced at the edge with rows of small holes, still retaining some of the nails for fastening on lining or other appendages. Traces of gilding are distinct in several places.

The road to Pyrgo, a town on the coast destined as our night's quarters, lies a little to the north of that which brought us from Mókritza. In one of the darkest recesses of the wood, we are shown the spot where one of the late murders was committed. After an hour's ride we emerge from the forest into a wide open plain, which, bare, uncultivated, and studded here and there with shepherd's encampments, reminded me much of some of the more dreary parts of the Roman campagna. Our village escort is here dismissed, as no danger seems ever to be apprehended from the Greek Klephts in an open country. Considering, however, the state of the population and of the police, one might suppose it as easy and safe a matter to plunder a caravan in the one case as in the other; for, by retiring at once with the booty into the neighbouring fastnèsses, concealment would be equally well ensured.

Soon after it sets in rain for the evening, and as we ride into the town it pours in torrents. Pyrgo occupies the summit of a long gentle eminence, commanding an extensive view, both inland and towards the mouth of

* *De Sacrif.* ii. 8. HERODOT. 8.

the river and the surrounding coast. The bazar, lined on each side with the customary wooden sheds, has a busy appearance, partly from a considerable commerce which the town carries on with the Ionian islands and along the neighbouring shore, partly from the preparations making for the approaching festivities of Easter week. The place is situated at some distance from the sea; its maritime trade being carried on through the medium of a small port called by its own name, Porto di Pyrghi.

Nicóla conducts me at once to the house of the British consul, Signor Zaccaría, an Ionian by birth, and an old servant of our government, under which he officiated in this capacity before the septinsular republic fell to our lot. His house is a large substantial structure, several stories in height, surrounded by a walled court, and fitted up both without and within in the Italian style; with a spacious saloon or common hall in the centre of the first floor. The old man is superannuated, sickly, and apparently in his second childhood; but, in consideration of his long service, continues to hold his office on full pay, the duties being performed by his son, who receives me politely, and entertains me with disinterested hospitality. On his proposal to allot for my separate use a small room, hitherto occupied by a female servant, and not of very tempting appearance, I venture, under the pressure of the case, to explain to him candidly, that I had already passed four sleepless nights, and from what cause; that I much feared the consequence of a fifth to my health; and that I should greatly prefer being allowed to spread my couch on the sofa of the saloon, (which appeared fresh and cleanly,) after the party had separated for the night. He takes the compliment to his bed-room accommodation very good-humouredly: it is arranged as I wish, and I enjoy a good night's rest.

It was reported, as I afterwards learned at Patras, by persons unfriendly to the family, that the old man was dead, and that the son concealed his death for the enjoyment of his emoluments, amounting, as I was informed, to three or four hundred pounds per annum, a large income in this country. To the falsehood of this calumny I was happy to be able to bear ocular testimony, having myself been introduced to the presence, I can hardly say to the acquaintance, of the old gentleman, in his private apartment; for, if able to recognise, he is altogether past the power of conversing with a stranger.

Signor Zaccaría, the younger, confirmed the accounts I had already received of the state of the country, and of the murder committed two days before on the Patras road. He described wanton bloodshed as having become more frequent of late, which he attributed to a greater degree of embitterment among the class of persons by whom the outrages are committed; a consequence of the new law of conscription. He seemed, however, to treat the matter with indifference; and his brother, a smart young beau, dressed in the latest style of Frank dandyism, arrived about an hour after myself, by land, from Patras, alone, unarmed, and without escort. One is at first disposed to feel surprise at the callousness displayed by the natives of this country to the risks they incur from the defective state of their police. The traveller hears of a robbery or a murder on the route he is about to pursue a few hours before starting, yet he neither delays his journey, nor makes any provision for his own security. The phenomenon, however, is, after all, nothing more than what is constantly exemplified in the everyday life of civilized Europe. Habit and necessity create indifference to every kind of danger, as to all the other evils of human existence. Hence, as the experience of whosoever has led an active life will bear

out, danger of every sort, when contemplated at a distance, seems greater than when present. As a husband and a father of a family, had I previously known the state of this province of the dominions of Otho, I might never have ventured to penetrate its interior; but when once on the journey, although I was not foolhardy enough to neglect the ordinary precautions enjoined by the local authorities, yet I may safely say, that there were few matters that occupied me less, even in the most suspicious parts of the route, than the expectation or the fear of being assaulted. The Greek merchant, who thoughtlessly sets out on a path still red with the blood of the passenger of the previous day, would perhaps find it difficult to understand how an English country squire could continue to follow the hounds regularly from season to season, after seeing several of his acquaintances break their necks, or maim themselves for life, in pursuit of the same diversion. The fatal accidents that annually occur in the fox and steeple hunts of England, are probably as numerous, in proportion to the number of those who take part in them, as the assassinations on the Greek roads, in proportion to those by whom they are frequented. Yet no one with us attaches the notion of danger to the amusement of fox-hunting, or admires those devoted to it as more distinguished for courage than their neighbours. The same remark applies perhaps still more pointedly to travelling by stage-coaches, steam-boats, or rail-roads. I remember a burlesque turn being given to the terror of a party of ladies, in a coach driven at a speed somewhat more rapid than appeared to them consistent with their safety, by the remark of a dry humourist, that he never felt alarmed on such occasions, because one never read in the newspapers of any accidents of this kind happening to one's-self, it was always to other people. For the same reason the Greeks and Calabrians,

who are in the habit of hearing of their neighbours being robbed or murdered on the roads, seldom calculate on meeting with a robber or a murderer themselves.

My young landlord, as he himself informed me, had married the daughter of one of the oldest and wealthiest families of the Morea, the name of which, though familiar to me at the moment, has escaped my memory, but which formerly, as he also assured me, exercised, either during the Byzantine or early Turkish period; a sort of sovereignty or viceroyalty over a great part of the peninsula. The lady, a buxom, good-looking, middle-aged woman, in very homely attire, appeared but once, passing through the saloon in the performance of some domestic office. The party at meals, as well as the evening circle, comprised the gentlemen of the household alone. This, to our notions, semi-barbarous custom is a remnant, probably, as much of ancient Greek as of modern Turkish manners. Among the ancients, the female members of the family were allotted a separate accommodation in the most retired part of the dwelling, the Gynæceum, or *female* quarter, in contradistinction to the Andron, the male, or public part of the house. Nor does it appear that ladies of respectable character ever shared in the conviviality of the table when strangers were present. The same peculiarity of manners prevails, or at least did prevail, on the opposite coast of Southern Italy, the inhabitants of which can claim descent from the Italiote Greeks, with as good or perhaps a better right than the Moreotes from those of the mother country, and among whom I have in my own experience found the Gynæceum and the Andron as broadly distinguished as at any period of antiquity. During a tour many years ago through this region, I was hospitably entertained at Croton, in Calabria, the birthplace of Milo, and residence of Pythagoras, in the house of a leading noble-

man of the place, by name Don Beppo O——. I had letters, from a friend in another province, to his sister, the mother of my host, and who, according to another more agreeable custom of these countries, still continued in her dowager state to preside over the domestic establishment of her son. On my arrival Don Beppo was from home; but on enquiring for the old lady I was shown into a room where she was sitting with two younger ones. She received me with much politeness, and offered me all the hospitality her house could afford. After chatting a quarter of an hour with herself and the two other ladies, who seemed well bred and intelligent young women, I went down to the piazza to bring up my luggage. I was there joined by Don Beppo, who, having been apprised of my arrival, had proceeded in quest of me, and renewed the hospitable invitation of his mother. I spent several days in the house. The old lady used to pay me a formal complimentary visit each forenoon in my own apartment; but I never saw her at any other time. The circle in the saloon, at meals, and on all other occasions, was confined to the male members of the establishment, comprising two uncles of the landlord, and occasionally relieved by the presence of his only daughter, a lively little girl about ten years old. In the course of the second day, I enquired of Don Beppo who the two ladies were that I had seen the first evening of my arrival, sitting with his mother. He answered that they were his daughter's governesses. I observed, that with us one governess was considered sufficient for four or five full grown young ladies, and expressed my surprise that he should find it necessary to be at the expense of two for a child of ten years of age. He replied that it was the custom of the country—" cosí si costuma fra noi." A few days afterwards, in the course of conversation with one of the uncles, assuming that Don Beppo

was a widower, and happening to ask how long it was since he had lost his wife, I was informed that she was still living. On my expressing surprise, and enquiring whether she was unwell or from home, he asked me whether I had not seen her myself sitting with her mother-in-law on the evening of my arrival. I answered that I had understood the two younger ladies present on that occasion, to be the persons entrusted with the education of the little girl; at which he laughed, and assured me that the one was the wife the other the sister of my host.

This custom, so contrary to our notions of European civilization, of which I had some other examples in the course of the same journey, was then, as I was informed at the time, gradually wearing out, being only to be met with in the more old-fashioned families even of this remote district, and is, it is to be hoped, by this time quite extinct.

CHAPTER XLVII.

KLEPHTIC FEROCITY—CONVENT AND KHAN OF ALI-TSCHELEPI—TRAIT OF MODERN GREEK CHARACTER—PATRAS.

Αἴ αἴ τὸ δοῦλον ὡς κακὸν πέφυκ' ἀεί.—*Eurip.*

"Of ills the greatest—to be born a slâve.——"

THE next morning, (Wednesday, 11th of April,) we parted with our Spartan orderly, who, not venturing or caring to extend his travels further northward, had relieved himself by a substitute from the station at Pyrgo, very like himself both in person and habits. We set out escorted by two muskets besides his own, until we should have cleared the dangerous parts of the route. After travelling a few miles across the open country, we halt to load, before entering a heathy district slightly raised above the level of the plain, and intersected by narrow gullies, through one of which our track lay. Whilst occupied in this manner, the Chorophylax called our attention to a spot of ground hard by, which, on approaching, we found to be stained with blood for several yards around. This was the place where the murder already noticed had been committed two days before. On the intelligence reaching Pyrgo, our guard had been the person sent to take official cognisance of the affair. He found the body lying on the spot where it had fallen, swimming in blood,—stabbed in several places, and the throat cut so as nearly to sever the head from the

shoulders. The poor sufferer was a Laconian cotton-dealer, who had been collecting his debts in the north, and was returning quite alone on foot to his native place, with about a hundred dollars in his pouch. The following were the circumstances of the case, as gathered partly from an examination of the localities, partly from the testimony of eye-witnesses:—The first assault took place within the thicket, at some distance from the open plain, where the road, scarcely broad enough to admit of two horses passing conveniently, is confined between steep banks rising on each side, about as high as the head of a mounted traveller. The ruffians, of whom two only were seen, had laid their ambush on the summit of these banks, one on each side, among the brushwood, and fired a pistol-shot at their victim as he passed, but missed him. He then took to flight in the direction of the plain, pursued by his assassins, who, on regaining sight of him on the open country, fired at him a second time with a carbine, but again without effect. They continued their pursuit, however, across the fields, and coming up with him at the spot where the body was found, attacked him with their knives. The poor fellow defended himself valiantly; but after receiving several stabs, fell, and they immediately cut his throat, rifled him, and made off for the interior of the country. Several countrymen at work in the fields, at no great distance, witnessed the whole scene. They had been used to hear shots in the neighbouring heath, which was the occasional resort of sportsmen; and when they saw three young men chasing each other, imagined it was but play, until the last moment, when the fatal blows passed and one of them fell. On examining the ground within the defile, where the first shot was heard, a discharged pistol was found, the barrel of which, on inspection, proved to be of wood!

This whole day's journey, and indeed the greater part of the route to Patras, is through a flat country, with the sea at no great distance to the left. On emerging from the heath we dismiss the guard, the road being now pronounced secure. We halt to refresh at Dérvitzi, a village embedded in olive groves. From the open ground on the bank of a small stream immediately beyond, I enjoy a fine view of the coast of Elis, and the neighbouring island of Zante, bearing west at about twenty miles' distance. Its outline is remarkable for elegance rather than boldness. The centre of the prospect is occupied by a long ridge, forming the back of the promontory of Cyllene. On its summit towers a Gothic fortress, the principal seat of the Frank dynasty during the middle ages, called by the natives Clemouzzi, by the Franks Castel Tornese. Immediately below this height is the port of Clarenza, the ancient Cyllene, once the naval arsenal of the Eleans, and capital of the Morea under the Frank princes. From hence the ducal title of Clarence, habitually borne by one of the junior members of our royal family, is said to be derived. Beyond, to the N.W., is seen in the distance the lofty round summit of Cefalonía, with the lower heights of Ithaca to its right. After traversing a dreary extent of marshy heath, our journey across which is agreeably enlivened by a well-sustained Aristophanic chorus on the part of the frogs, its only apparent inhabitants, we ford in succession two other streams, the first of which, the ancient Peneus, is both broad and deep. To the eastward, at some miles' distance, the site of ancient Elis is now visible. It forms the boldest point of a range of low hills bounding the plain in that direction. Beyond them rises an insulated rocky mountain, of considerable height and boldness of outline, the Scollis of Strabo, and probably the Olenian rock of Homer, now called Sandaméri.

Among its fastnesses, Nicóla informed me, some thousand families of Greeks had found refuge from the devastations of the Turkish war during several years. About sunset we enter a forest of noble oaks, through which our road lies for the greater part of the remaining distance to Patras. In the midst of it is situated the village of Alí-tschelepi, where we are to pass the night, and which we do not reach until long after nightfall. The name of this place, according to Nicóla's interpretation, signifies Alí's Delight; from its having been formerly a favourite residence of a pashá of that name.

My host of Pyrgo had sent an order to the monks of a convent on the outskirts of the village, of the old domain of which he is part proprietor, to receive and entertain us. Their establishment, comprising, in as far as could be judged in the gloom, a considerable range of whitewashed structures, seemed to hold out hopes of tolerable accommodation. On arriving, therefore, we left our horses at a khan in the immediate neighbourhood, and proceeded to beat up the quarters of the kalógheri. But all our efforts to obtain admission were vain; so, after calling and knocking for about a quarter of an hour at the outer gate, we gave up the matter as hopeless, and returned to the khan.

I had frequently heard it said by intelligent foreigners settled in Greece, that its inhabitants, in spite of their obstinate struggle for independence, and amid a good deal of native spirit and ferocity, had not yet been able to shake off some of those defects, which Homer, as if in prophetic anticipation of the future fate of his own countrymen, assures us slavery never fails to entail on the character of its victims;* that the same abject cringing

* ἥμισυ γάρ τ' ἀρετῆς ἀποαίνυται εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς,
ἀνέρος, εὖτ' ἄν μιν κατὰ δούλιον ἦμαρ ἕλῃσιν.—
Od. ρ. 322.

to any thing in the shape of a superior, which during the Turkish despotism had been a matter of necessity, still continued to display itself towards rank, or constituted authority, as a matter of habit; and that to this day, consequently, the proper mode for a traveller to secure justice or respect in his dealings with the natives, was the employment of the cane or the horsewhip. As my information came chiefly from Bavarians, who for the most part return with interest the hatred and contempt which the Greeks so cordially entertain for them, I had some doubts how far their reports were to be relied on; nor was I likely to bring the question to an issue from personal trial. But this latter part of our journey, it must be admitted, offered several incidents tending greatly to confirm the correctness of their statements, the most remarkable of which occurred on the present occasion. Allusion has already been made to the dictatorial deportment of our military attendants towards the peasantry, and indeed towards all classes of their fellow-citizens whose status in society gave them no especial claim to personal respect. Nor did this overbearing spirit appear to depend on the genius of the individual *stratiote*, but was common to them all, as part and parcel of their just and proper dignity of office. If a ford was sought, the nearest countryman was not requested, but peremptorily summoned to conduct us to it; if the way was intricate, he was ordered to act as guide, or forthwith to find a substitute; and the least hesitation or delay seldom failed to bring down a volley of the most approved military anathemas on the head of the offender. To return, however, to the case immediately in point; on reaching the khan, I found our escort, who had quitted the convent gate a few minutes earlier, busy in inflicting the most humiliating species of corporal punishment on the person of the khanjee—a handsome, athletic, and rather

respectable-looking young man—belabouring his back and shoulders with the flat of his sword, and at intervals bestowing virulent kicks on that part of the hinder quarter where a blow is supposed to convey the severest wound to personal honour. On occasion of any momentary respite from the fury of the attack, the sufferer attempted, with mild voice, and gentle but earnest expostulation, to convince his enemy of the unreasonableness of his conduct; and then, as the assault recommenced with redoubled fury, he again turned his back till the shower of blows was overpast, when he once more faced about, and with the same calmness renewed the thread of his argument. I immediately interfered, and enquiring the cause of the dispute, was informed: that the monks had for some time past been in the nightly habit of leaving the convent, which, as already said, was on the outskirts of the commune, for fear of the robbers, and taking up their abode till morning in a more central part of the village; that the Chorophylax had proposed to go in quest of them, and summon them to return and reopen their establishment for my accommodation; that he had ordered the khanjee to act as his guide to the place, but that the man had declined compliance, urging the lateness of the hour, and the necessity of attending on his other guests, of whom several besides our party were already assembled within the hut. Nor indeed was it reasonable to expect that the poor fellow would be the willing instrument of depriving himself of a customer, from whom he doubtless expected to realize the ordinary receipts of several days. I settled the dispute by declaring my intention of remaining at his khan, rather than subject the reverend gentlemen to any inconvenience, or myself to the delay and trouble of preparing new quarters. The matter being thus concluded, mine host, far from bearing any apparent ill-will to his castigator,

seemed neither mortified nor disconcerted by what had passed; and ten minutes afterwards, the two were conversing together by the fireside, upon general topics, with as much ease and good-humour as if nothing had happened.

The conversation round the hearth turned, very naturally, upon ecclesiastical politics. Radical principles were in the ascendant, and most of the arguments against monastic establishments, which for the last two or three centuries have become stale and hackneyed commonplaces in western Europe, were here urged as ingenious novelties, with all the pomp and pride of intellectual ultra-liberalism, by the majority of the assembly, headed, as was to be expected, by Nicóla, and seconded by the Chorophylax. Monasteries in general were pronounced to be mere hives of useless drones; the government was commended for what had been already done towards their suppression, and hopes were expressed that the country would soon be rid of them altogether. The monks of Alí-tschelepi were denounced in their individual capacity, as traitors to the only useful duty they had to perform—that of affording hospitality to the traveller. From all this, an elderly substantial-looking merchant, who sat by me, and who seemed to be the only stanch Conservative of the party, scarcely ventured to dissent by an occasional shake of the head, or an expression or two of simple disapprobation. There is, indeed, this to be said in favour of the regular clergy of the Greek church, as compared with their Catholic brethren, that however useless or even pernicious they may be in a spiritual sense, they are not by any means a burden to society in a statistical point of view; as their clerical dignity does not interdict them from gaining their livelihood through their own industry, whether by agricultural labour, or the exercise of mechanical and commercial

professions. The Greek church does not, I believe, recognise any establishment of mendicant friars; nor do I recollect ever to have met with a clerical beggar—or indeed, I may almost say, a beggar of any description—in the course of my tour.

Our agoghiates were exceedingly anxious to be back at Pyrgo early on Friday morning, in order to lose as little as possible of the ceremonies and festivities of that and the ensuing days of Easter week. It was therefore proposed that we should remain no longer at this place than was required for such refreshment or repose as was indispensable to carry on our horses to Patras, without risk of knocking up. This plan was readily agreed to by me, for whom the interior of the khan of Alí-tschelepi had as few charms as any of its predecessors. We therefore started by moonlight, about a couple of hours before sunrise. The road for more than halfway to Patras was still through the same beautiful woodland scenery. I seldom remember to have seen finer oaks, never, perhaps, so great a number of equal dimensions in continued succession. The whole country, for many miles, recalled to mind the wilder parts of Windsor-park. At intervals of a mile or two occurred pastoral settlements, of the usual romantic character, in the midst of the extensive glades of green pasture or ferny heath, which opened up from time to time through the mazes of the forest.

The resemblance between the habits of pastoral life, as prevalent to this day in Greece, and those described by Homer, has already been incidentally noticed. No one, indeed, familiar with the works of the poet, can fail to be struck with the correspondence between these numerous little colonies of shepherds, with their ferocious and vociferous packs of dogs, interspersed here and

there throughout the less cultivated parts of the country, and the establishments of the same class whose concerns are so frequently brought forward in the illustrative imagery of both poems. Several coincidences of this kind have been remarked, in connexion with the adventures of our day of disembarkation on the shore of Greece; and this, our last day's journey on its soil, supplied another no less interesting. At the moment when the purple aurora of a beautiful spring morning scarcely permitted of our distinguishing objects at a few hundred yards' distance through the glades, we passed one of these encampments, just as it was beginning to show symptoms of a renewal of the daily routine of occupation. The men were emerging from the huts, and the sheep from the folds, snuffing the morning air, and slowly spreading in groups over the neighbouring sward. On a sudden the peaceful character of the scene gives place to bustle and alarm. The dogs rush forth in a body towards a certain point, fiercely snarling and barking; both men and women follow with such weapons as are more immediately at hand, and cries of λύκος, λύκος—the wolf! the wolf!

θηρὸς ἀκούσαντες κρατερόφρονος ὅστε καθ' ὕλην
ἔρχηται δι' ὄρεσφι· πολὺς δ' ὀρυμαγδὸς ἐπ' αὐτῷ
ἀνδρῶν ἠδὲ κυνῶν.—*Il.* x. 184.

"Prowling within the wood, the hungry brute
Is heard; when clamour loud, and keen pursuit,
Of men and dogs arise."

Looking towards the point in which their sally was directed, I observed accordingly a wolf, that had been lurking doubtless during the night around the fold, watching an opportunity of carrying off a straggler on the unpenning of the flock in the morning, slink off disappointed, with his tail between his legs:—

> " So beast of prey for murderous theft prepared,
> By dogs and herdsmen from the sheep-pen scared,
> With weapons and with voice—his spirit bold
> Subdued—slinks off reluctant from the fold."—*Il.* xvii. 110.

On quitting the forest, we coast along the gulf for an hour or two, and at length reach Patras, the final limit of my Hellenic travels. This place appears to be rising from its ruins with greater rapidity and regularity than most other Greek cities. But of the gardens of oranges, almonds, figs, and pomegranates, in which its houses were formerly imbedded,* not a leaf is now to be seen. The main street, built parallel to the shore, contains some rows of good houses; and several others running at right angles to it, are lined on each side with neat and well garnished shops. The Turkish citadel, formerly the Acropolis, and now a picturesque castellated ruin, occupies a precipitous and nearly insulated height, projecting from the lofty Mount Panachaïcus†—now Voïdhiá—which rises immediately behind. The great beauty, however, of the site of this town, is the sea view, unsurpassed by any thing of its kind in Greece, or perhaps in Europe. The outline of the land on the opposite side of the gulf, extends from the snowy tops of Parnassus in the east, to the more distant mountains of Acarnania in the opposite direction; while full in front, in the centre of the prospect, are the colossal pyramids of Kakéscala and Varássova, rising in huge perpendicular masses from the brink of the water. The planner of the new city has, however, done his best to deprive it of this, its chief ornament, and, it may be presumed, one of its greatest advantages as a seaport. Instead of a broad extent of quay, backed by a single line of buildings, to front so noble a prospect, the ground along the shore is laid out as an ordinary street, which, when completed, will have a continuous row of houses on each side for nearly its

* Leake's *Morea*, ii. p. 140. † 6300 feet.—Leake.

whole length; so that the voyager, on his arrival, in place of an open terrace, sees nothing but the back premises of the outer row of buildings, mingled, perhaps, with fishermen's huts, and other structures of an equally unseemly appearance, in their rear; while the inhabitants of the town enjoy on their chief promenade about as much benefit from their fine sea view, as those of Thames Street do from that of the river whose name it bears.

The most considerable structure of the town is the church of St Andrew, rebuilding at its western extremity on the site of the ancient sanctuary, which had lain in ruins for generations. It is of substantial stone masonry, and, when complete, will be about the best edifice of its class in Greece. Its patron saint is supposed to have suffered martyrdom at Patras, and his remains to rest beneath its pavement. St Andrew was one of the most distinguished miracle-workers of the Byzantine church, and obtained the credit, justly due to the valour of its own citizens, of having delivered the town from the Sclavonian conquest in the eighth century. When hard pressed by the barbarians, the besieged sent to demand aid from their allies the Corinthians. If, on his return, the messenger carried his banner erect, it was a sign that no succour could be expected. If he lowered it, assistance was at hand. The application was unfavourably received at Corinth; but, as the messenger approached the walls of the besieged city, his horse stumbled and his banner fell. The citizens took heart, sallied forth, and repulsed the enemy. The Corinthian reinforcement unexpectedly arrived, the barbarians were dispersed, and the place delivered. The stumbling of the horse was attributed to the miraculous interposition of St Andrew, who was also seen fighting in the foremost ranks in the last decisive engagement.

In the year 1460, Thomas, despot of the Morea, when

forced to fly before the Turks, carried off with him, among other treasures, the head of this saint, which he disposed of to the Pope for a pension of 6000 ducats. The procession of the relic into Rome is commemorated by the pretty chapel on the left hand of the Flaminian way, between the Ponte Molle and Porta del Popolo, erected by Pius the Second on the spot where he first encountered it in its progress.

But the possession, or the miraculous virtues, of the fragments of this holy corpse, were not confined to Greece or to Italy. In the year 370, as we learn from Boece, a monk called Regulus, (St Reule,) was sent by the emperor Constantius to Patras, to pay homage to the relics of St Andrew. "And when the said Reule," says the historian, "had done his devotions with much reverence, he was commanded by a heavenly vision to take the arm of St Andrew, with three fingers, and three toes of his feet, and to pass with the same into the far nook of the world named Albion," in order to convert the barbarous natives of that country. Having suffered shipwreck on the coast of Fife, he founded the monastery of St Andrew's, and established the domicile of the relics on the spot where he escaped to land; and from thence the Christian religion was spread throughout Scotland, together with the worship of the apostle, who has ever since remained the tutelar saint of the Scottish nation.

By the side of this building is shown a subterranean fountain, identified with that where Pausanias* describes the oracle of the mirror. Patras, though a place of great antiquity, was never one of leading historical celebrity, and can boast of proportionally few and trivial monuments of its classical ages. The only visible relics of the ancient city are a few Roman substructions, with some fragments of sculpture in the masonry of the castle

* *Achaïc.* xxi 5.

walls, and a broken arch or two within the water-line; remains, apparently, of a pier or quay. The place boasts several inns, or, to give them their full dignity of title, hotels, fitted up in the Italian style, and offering tolerable accommodation. The one which I inhabited, the best in the town, is kept by a young man whom Nicóla introduced to me as patronized by General Gordon, who, having taken a fancy to him when a boy, educated and established him in life. If this be true, he does but little credit to his benefactor; as his dealings with the public are notoriously a systematic course of extortion and knavery; carried on, however, in so barefaced and extravagant a manner, as in a great degree to defeat its own object.

Good Friday is, I believe, with the Greeks, as in most other Christian churches, nominally a day of penance. If so, its rites are certainly the most tumultuous species of fasting and humiliation I have happened to witness. While the more mysterious functions were performing in the interior of the cathedral, (formerly a Turkish mosque of considerable size, which has survived the general ruin,) its outer courts, with the neighbouring thoroughfares, were crowded with people, apparently in a high state of jovial excitement, and whose most serious occupation seemed to be ringing a bell, hung on a scaffolding over the gateway of entrance, in which service they relieved each other at intervals. The shops were open the whole forenoon, and doing extensive business; the streets crowded with loungers; while during the greater part of the night the town resounded with reports of guns, pistols, and fireworks. The most interesting part of the festival to a stranger, was the display of costume on the promenade. Every man who possessed a change of raiments was in his best attire; and it may be presumed that this was the day of renewal with those

who are in the habit of disembarrassing their person of its drapery but once in the course of the year. Some of the dresses of the more respectable class were remarkable both for richness and beauty. There are, indeed, few things in Greece more apt to strike the eye of a foreigner, than the contrast between this occasional splendour of personal attire, and the general filth and misery of domestic habits. One frequently sees figurës, who might pass on the stage of Paris or London for the first officers of state of an oriental court, if not for the sultan himself, issuing from the door of a habitation which a respectable artisan in either of those towns would be ashamed to call his own. The expense of many of these suits of clothing is enormous; and this species of extravagance is spread among all classes of the community. The full costume of a Greek bishop, I was assured, often costs a sum, the tenth part of which a dignitary of the same rank in our own hierarchy would probably grudge to spend on his canonicals.

Although in respect to the number of vessels that annually frequent its harbour, Patras may yield to the Piræus, it is yet considered, I understand, as the port of Greece most distinguished for the extent of its commercial relations. If so, the reality is strangely belied by external appearances. During the two days I spent there, I saw neither arrival nor departure of any kind to attract attention, but that of our own steam-packet; nor did I ever at any one time observe more than one or two floating objects in the roadstead that could deserve the name of vessel, and those but small brigs or schooners; together with a very scanty sprinkling of boats of various sizes. Nor indeed does the place present the appearance of a port or harbour to the eye of a landsman, having neither cove, headland, pier, or breakwater, nor any other of the features, natural or artificial, which one is

in the habit of considering indispensable for the shelter of shipping. To me it seemed but an open shore; but must, I presume, be more effectually protected than it appears, by some peculiarity in the general form of the gulf that bears its name, and which I was not seaman enough to appreciate.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

VOYAGE TO ANCONA—LIFE IN LAZARETTO.

χαῖρ' ὦ φίλη γῆ· διὰ χρόνου πολλοῦ σ' ἰδὼν
ἀσπάζομαι.— MENANDRI *fragm.*

"Hail! favoured land—long absent from thy shore,
With joy I greet thy dark blue hills once more."

WE embarked for Ancona in the Austrian steam-packet, on the afternoon of Sunday, the 15th April, with dark gloomy weather, and reached Corfú on the day following amid torrents of rain. There I parted with Nicóla, I cannot say with very deep regret; as, in spite of the real value of his services, there was but little in the mode of their performance, or in the habits of the man, calculated permanently to engage the affections of his employer. The vessel remained in port scarcely time sufficient to permit of my visiting and taking luncheon with my friends at the palace. The weather continued more or less unfavourable the whole of that afternoon and of the next day, but cleared up the morning (April 18) of our arrival at Ancona.

It had never yet been my lot to be the inmate of a Lazaretto, and I had heard much of the discomforts of such establishments. I was therefore the more agreeably surprised to find, that the only serious inconvenience of which I had to complain in the present case, was the delay interposed to my rejoining my family at Florence. The company that disembarked from the steamer consisted

of but nine persons, including myself; the place on our arrival was empty, nor did it receive any accession of lodgers during the period of our residence. In addition to the advantage of limited numbers, our party was very well composed. It comprised the French consul, recently promoted from Patras to Ancona, with his family; another young Frenchman, returned like myself from a tour in Greece; a Pesarese count, a fine lively agreeable fellow, enthusiastically devoted to field sports, in pursuit of which he had been wandering, accompanied by a brace of handsome setters, over the Ionian islands and part of continental Greece; and two Corfuote citizens, one of them a person of some celebrity in his own country, Signor Coraggio, whom the English acquainted with the island will perhaps better know under the title of Mr Courage. The whole establishment being at our disposal, we enjoyed all the freedom and comfort compatible with its limits and regulations. We had each as much house-room as we cared to occupy. Our meals were served at reasonable rates from the best hotel in the town, and I procured the services of a smart clever lacquey during the period of our durance. My journal, sketch-book, and epistolary correspondence, afforded me ample employment; and, as the weather was fine, what between in-door occupation, and walking and chatting with my companions in the court, the time passed rapidly and agreeably.

The Lazaretto of Ancona is, I believe, considered about the best in the Mediterranean, and it is creditable to his Holiness, that, at least in the principal part of his dominions, some consideration should be shown for the comfort of travellers, in a case where they are so fairly entitled to claim it; more especially as the wretchedness of quarantine life, in some of the more distinguished emporia of the Levant trade, is a subject of general com-

plaint. This edifice is situated on an island, (the surface of which it completely covers,) so near the mainland as to be connected with it by a drawbridge, and has been originally built for the purpose to which it is now applied, on a large scale and a regular plan. It consists of a spacious pentagonal court, encompassed on all sides with buildings, presenting five architectural fronts, corresponding to the sides of the court. In the centre is a small chapel, also of pentagonal form, and very elegant structure, in which mass is performed for the benefit of the inmates. One side of the court is occupied by the offices of the establishment; the front of each of the four others by the apartments of the prisoners; behind which, greatly overtopping the roof of the front buildings, are the magazines, vast open lofty halls, into several of which, being now quite empty, we had liberty to extend our promenades. This afforded an agreeable variety to our habitual perambulations of the court, as their windows command a view of the town and part of the harbour. The walls of one of these saloons, which seemed at all times to have been more used as a lounging-place for the prisoners than for any other purpose, were completely covered with inscriptions, by which successive generations of the *contumacious* or *filthy*, (contumaci—sporchi,) as the Lazaretto prisoners are familiarly styled in the Adriatic, had endeavoured to beguile their hours of captivity. The great majority of these productions are in Greek and Italian, emanating, no doubt, from the youthful genius of the Ionian students who flock to the Italian universities. The next, in point of number, with a wide interval, are the French and German. Those in our native tongue hold but the fifth place; at which I felt surprise, as our own countrymen are perhaps as much, or more infected with this mania for wall scribbling than any other nation. Let us flatter ourselves,

that even a temporary suspension of liberty may have the effect of cramping the literary genius of a people proverbial for their impatience of slavery. The specimens of original composition interspersed here and there among the chaos of names, dates, &c., and illustrated in many instances by original drawings, were, as usual in such cases, remarkable for little else than folly, dull sentimentality, or obscenity. In the latter respect were more particularly distinguished those emanating from Italo-Greek authors; bent, it would seem, on proving their worthinesss of the elegant titles above mentioned, which their residence within the walls they took such pains to adorn had procured them.

One of the windows of this saloon looks across the narrow channel which separates the island from the quay, full upon the exterior front of the northern or principal gate of the town, a gorgeous, and, upon the whole, a favourable specimen of the Borrominesque style of pontifical architecture; with the arms, image, and superscription of the Pope under whose reign it was erected, in the frontispiece, supported by the usual number of winged cherubs, trumpeting Fames, &c. During several hours, on each of the two first days of our captivity, I stood at this window, for the mere purpose of gazing on the everyday objects, animate or inanimate, of a great public thoroughfare, a species of idleness of which I do not feel conscious of being often guilty. But there was something delightful in the simple act of thus familiarizing the eye—through the medium of hats, coats, and breeches; of wheel carriages, solid buildings, paved streets, smooth broad roads; and, above all, of well-dressed and finely-formed women of all classes, who abound along this coast more perhaps than in most other districts even of Italy—with that genuine European civilization to which it had so long been a stranger.

During the duller part of the day, an occasional source of amusement was watching the mode in which the French corps de garde, in occupation of the gate, managed to beguile their hours of idleness. The restlessness of their persons, and unceasing clatter of their tongues; the frequent recurrence of good-humoured practical jokes; the occasional quizzing, with equal good-humour, of certain of the party who seemed to be the acknowledged butts of their more facetious comrades; and when these more solid sources of diversion were exhausted, the mercurial quickness and suddenness of their motions, in their ordinary mode of pacing up and down for the purpose of killing time till the moment of relief—all supplied both an amusing illustration of the proverbial liveliness of the Gallic race, and a striking contrast to the phlegm of the Germans, or even the more dignified vivacity of the Italians, with whose demeanour I was then more familiar, as placed in similar circumstances. I never saw a poorer set of men than the fifteen hundred of which this garrison was composed. Many of them looked more like dwarfs or monkeys in military travestie, than real heroes of the *grande nation.* The officers themselves, I was told, complained much of the shabby appearance of the recruits sent out to them. The dress of the French line, though convenient and serviceable, is also little fitted for concealing or softening down the personal deficiencies of its wearer; and although the French are proverbially a military nation, they certainly have not a military air. Upon the whole, the government of Louis Philippe is not very likely to inspire either the minds of its Austrian rivals with much terror, or those of its Italian protégés with great respect, by the personal appearance of its warriors; who are as inferior as men, as they are doubtless superior as soldiers, to the

papal municipal guard who shared the duty of sentinel with them at the gate.

Our just period of quarantine was fourteen days. But as the fête of Louis Philippe occurred a few days prior to the lawful term of our emancipation, the French general exerted himself in procuring a remission of the intermediate space for his countryman the consul, to enable him to take part in the festivities. His application, being favoured by the mildness of our case, was successful; and as the benefit of any such indulgence always extends to the immediate companions of the favoured party, we were all set at large on the morning of the fête. It was with much regret that, from anxiety to rejoin my family circle at Florence, I was under the necessity of refusing the hospitable invitation of my worthy friend Mr Moore, the British consul, to prolong my stay at Ancona, and enjoy the humours of the French festival.* After seeing the regiments of the garrison march past the General in full dress parade in the piazza, I started for Tuscany on the same afternoon, April 30th, by way of Fano, Pesaro, Forlí, and the fine Apennine pass of the Falterona. I travelled the whole of the two next days, and on the morning of the 3d of May, breakfasted in my own lodgings at Florence.

* I am happy to take this opportunity of recording my sense of the kindness and courtesy of that gentleman, a testimony in which, doubtless, those of my countrymen who have had similar occasions to appeal to his services, will readily join. Though personally a stranger to him, yet, from the period of my first application by letter, for information as to conveyances on the Adriatic, up to that of my final departure from Ancona on my return, I found him unwearied in his attention to my interest in many small and troublesome matters, where the good offices of such a functionary can least be claimed as matter of duty, but are more especially valuable.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

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Note to Chap. XXVI., p. 53.

The evidence derived from the Iliad of the insignificance of Athens at this early period becomes the more conclusive, if its author be admitted, as usually supposed, to be a denizen of the colonies founded under Athenian auspices and by Athenian chiefs, on the coast of Asia Minor. It is hardly credible that a native poet of these settlements would treat the state from whence they emanated with such marked neglect, in a poem descriptive of the great national enterprize, which, by first establishing the ascendancy of the tribes of the western over those of the eastern side of the Ægæan, was the primary cause of the occupation of this fine country by the colonies of the former. But the Ionian origin of Homer is one of the most questionable points of the popular traditions concerning him.

The following examples will here suffice of the discrepancies between Homer and later Attic tradition. The adventures of Œdipus at Athens; the asylum he found there from the persecution of his own country and family; his decease in the temple of the Furies, and the portentous influence of his fate on the future destinies of the republic, have obtained, through the muse of Sophocles, a standard celebrity among

the vicissitudes of this tragical history. But Homer's simple and natural allusions (*Il.* xxiii. 679; *Odyss.* xi. 270,) to the concerns of the old king, after the discovery of his unintentional guilt, and to his subsequent life, death, and funeral honours in his own native city, warrant the suspicion, that the Attic version of his story is a corruption of the genuine fable, devised to enhance the glory of Athens and of Theseus.

Homer's account of the tragical adventures of Philomela and Itylus, or Itys, (*Odyss.* xix. 518,) is also quite different from that popular on the Attic stage; and the latter has much the appearance of having been invented by the Athenians, in order to establish their own fair country as the birthplace of the bird of song.

NOTE to Chap. XXVI. p. 59.

As Dr Ross's pamphlet on the Theseum, (in the modern Greek language,) is rare, or perhaps scarcely known in this country, the following summary of the principal heads of evidence on the question may not be unacceptable to the archæological reader. My own knowledge of the contents of Dr Ross's work is indeed only derived from a hasty perusal of a copy belonging to a friend.

I. Plutarch, (*Vit. Thes.* c. 36,) describes the Theseum as in the middle of the town;* and that his words are to be taken in a literal sense may be presumed from the circumstance, that the sanctuary was the public asylum or place of refuge for unfortunate criminals, as well as the customary place of muster for the troops of the Asty on occasion of hostile alarm: purposes, both of which imply a central locality. But the existing temple is near the western extremity of the ancient city.

II. That this edifice bore the name of Temple of Mars up to the middle of the 15th century, appears from the testimony

* ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει.

of Cyriacus of Ancona, who travelled in Greece in 1436, and mentions it under that title. This was prior to the Turkish conquest; at a period consequently when, together with some small remains of ancient learning, the genuine traditions relative to the names or character of ancient buildings may not yet have been extinct.

III. As another argument in favour of the claims of Mars may be adduced the recent discovery, immediately below the "Theseum," of a row of marble statues or Caryatids, representing human figures, with serpents' tails for their lower extremities. This is the form in which we know Erechtheus, Cecrops, and other mythical Attic heroes to have been represented, in their capacity of Autochthons, or Sons of Earth; and, in fact, the emblems on the pedestal of one of the statues bear distinct reference to the worship of Erechtheus. We have therefore every reason to believe, that these are the statues of the "Eponyme heroes" of the Attic tribes, mentioned by Pausanias as in the immediate neighbourhood of the Temple of Mars.

At the period when Athens was first generally frequented by the scholars of western Europe, this title had become extinct, and they were very naturally led to identify the building as the Theseum, from the tenor of a considerable number of the sculptures of the frieze, representing the exploits of the Attic warrior. The real argument supplied by this circumstance in favour of the popular opinion, Dr Ross sets aside very ingeniously, by showing: first, that the ornaments of this portion of a temple, according to the established courtesy of Greek art, rarely if ever bear *direct* reference to the history of the deity worshipped within; secondly, that the joint achievements of Theseus and Hercules, as figured on this building, are precisely the subjects which the Athenians would be likely to select as the most appropriate decoration for a Temple of the God of War.

Note to Chap. XXVII. p. 61.

The proposal to connect, in so tangible a manner, the existing "Stone" of the Pnyx with the name of any of the earlier Athenian statesmen, may perhaps seem at variance with the popular tradition relative to the change of its site by the thirty tyrants, subsequent to the battle of Ægospotamos. This tradition, however, has very much the appearance of a fable. Plutarch (*Vit. Themistocl.* c. xix.) is the only author who mentions it, and that but vaguely; nor is it possible by any casuistry to reconcile the terms of his allusion with existing appearances. In speaking of the democratic tendency of that love of the sea and of nautical affairs, with which Themistocles had inspired the Athenians, he adds, that from this consideration "the Bema of the Pnyx, which was formerly so constructed as to look towards the sea, had been turned by the Thirty so as to face in the direction of the country." That the present Pnyx, however, is a work of far more ancient date than the age of the thirty tyrants cannot be doubted; and it must be equally clear to any one who examines the ground, that no rostrum from whence an audience assembled on its area could be addressed, ever could have been so constructed as to have looked towards the sea.

Perhaps the most plausible of the attempts to explain the difficulty is that of Colonel Leake, (*Topogr. of Ath.* p. 42,) who supposes that Themistocles, in his zeal for nautical affairs, had induced the people to desert the ancient Pnyx, (that which we now see,) and hold their assemblies on some other portion of the same eminence, which fronted the gulf; but that the Thirty had restored it, from the motive above assigned, to its former position. This theory, however, is at variance with the statement of Plutarch, who, while he alludes to no change whatever by Themistocles on the ancient Pnyx, describes the regulation of the Thirty as an alteration, not a restoration of its former site. There is indeed an esplanade or terrace on the summit of the rock, behind the present "Stone," which has evidently been artificially levelled; and near one

of its extremities are appearances on the ground which some have supposed to betoken the existence of a former Bema. This esplanade, however, is a great deal smaller than the actual Pnyx; so small as to render it scarcely credible that it could have accommodated the ordinary assembly of the citizens; or that they should ever have been induced, by what was after all but a whim of Themistocles, to desert their ancient more commodious place of assembly for so indifferent a substitute. It is more probable that the ground on this upper level was used for purposes subordinate to the business of the great assembly, covered perhaps in part with buildings or booths, for the convenience of the Prytanes, scribes, and other public functionaries, or of the orators themselves. Some such range of offices there must have been in the neighbourhood of the great council of Athens, and there is no place so conveniently situated for the purpose, or which exhibits greater appearance of having been so occupied, than this esplanade.

An allusion to such appendages occurs in the scene of the *Thesmophoriazusæ* of Aristophanes, where search is made by the women, among the booths and passages of their Pnyx, for disguised male intruders on their assembly:

τὴν Πνύκα πᾶσαν καὶ τὰς σκηνὰς καὶ τὰς διόδους διαθεῖσαι. *v.* 659.

It is true, that the term Pnyx is here used in burlesque application to the Thesmophorium or Sanctuary of Ceres, where these female assemblies were held. But this circumstance does not destroy the point of the allusion.

Another difficulty occurs in the way of any such mode of reconciling the words of Plutarch with existing appearances in the fact that the city wall ran immediately behind this upper esplanade; and its foundations, which are still visible, are so nearly on the same level, that, allowing a respectable height to its masonry, it would have effectually interrupted any such view of the sea as could have suited the purpose of the hero of Salamis, or given just cause of alarm to the thirty tyrants.

There seems, therefore, no ground for belief that the popular assemblies were ever held in any other Pnyx than that which we now see; and the story of Plutarch is doubtless one of the many anecdotes, of what may be called the moral and political mythology of Greece, invented to give zest to the narrative of interesting events, or the actions and characters of illustrious men.

Note to Chap. XXVIII., p. 78.

A curious discovery relative to the more subtle mechanism of the structure of the Parthenon, has recently been announced, by Mr Metzger, a Bavarian architect, as the result of researches which were in progress at the period of my visit to Athens. This gentleman asserts, that by a series of observations carried with great nicety through every portion of the edifice, he has ascertained, that there is not a straight line of any considerable length in its whole extent, with the exception, if I mistake not, of those of the gable of the pediments. That the vertical lines of the building have a certain inclination outwards, was already well known, and is indeed apparent to the eye of an ordinary observer. His investigations apply more especially to the horizontal lines of the architrave, and by consequence of the parallel portions of the entablature, frieze, cornice, &c., together with the basement or platform on which the columns stand. The masonry of all these portions of the edifice has been found to be arched or curved upwards, though in a degree so slight as not to be perceptible, unless on very accurate inspection; but by placing the eye, for example, at the extremity of any one of the principal lines above mentioned, the deviation from the horizontal will be very apparent. This peculiarity of structure he found to be carried through every portion of the fabric, in so uniform a manner as to prove it to be the result of system. These observations are said to have since been verified by several other members of the same profession.

In considering what may have been the object of this apparent anomaly, one is naturally led, in the first instance, to take into account the liberties in which the ancient architects occasionally indulged, in aid of the optical effect of their buildings. It is not, however, easy to see how any advantage of this sort could have been either proposed or attained in the present case. The object, it may be presumed, was here not elegance, but solidity; and thus the Parthenon itself, there can be little doubt, supplies another evidence in addition to those adduced in different parts of this journal, of the familiarity of the Greek masons with the principle of the arch. In a country subject to earthquakes, the smallest degree of concentric pressure, such as would result from this peculiarity of structure, if carried through the whole edifice, would be greatly conducive to its durability, while not so perceptible to the eye as to affect its symmetry.

In a letter from Athens, read by Mr W. Hamilton to the Royal Society of Literature, on the 13th March 1840, it is stated that the same peculiarity is also observable in the Theseum.

Note to Chap. XXIX. p. 85.

The two lines of inscription still legible, one on each side of this gateway, describe it as dividing "Athens, the ancient city of Theseus," from "the city of Hadrian." On the west side:—

αιδ' εισ' Αθηναι Θησεως το πριν πολις.

On the east:—

αιδ' εισ' Αδριανου κ'ουχι Θησεως πολις.

The somewhat ambiguous terms of this distich have led to doubts as to which may have been the city of Hadrian here alluded to; and whether it really was on the Olympian side of the arch as usually supposed. In spite of the services rendered by the emperor to the sanctuary, the claim were certainly somewhat presumptuous, with reference both to the affirmative and the negative tenor of the inscription, consi-

dering that we have the oldest and best authority for the fact, that the most "ancient city of Theseus" was precisely that portion of Athens within which the Olympium was situated. —THUCYD. Lib. ii., c. 15.

It is surprising that so respectable a Hellenist as Chandler (p. 73) should be the author of a proposal still further to mystify the sense of these two lines, and the question of fact which they involve, by reading, in the two first words of each, instead of ΑΙΔ' ΕΙΣ' (*This is,*) Α ΙΔΕΙΣ, which (as interpreted by him) would signify, *What you see is.* Even a schoolboy of the upper classes should know that the anomalous verb εἶδον has no present form, the deficiency being supplied by ὁράω. The inscription is but a paraphrase of that said to have been formerly engraved by Theseus himself, on corresponding sides of a boundary column on the Isthmus of Corinth:

τάδ' ἐστὶ Πελοπόννησος οὐκ Ἰωνία.
τὰ δ' οὐχὶ Πελοπόννησος ἀλλ' Ἰωνία.

The analogy between the copy and the original were in itself sufficient, even apart from grammatical reasons, to set aside Chandler's view; which, however, has not been without its influence on the less critical class of Attic topographers.

NOTE to Chap. XXXIII. p. 131.

In all our editions, vv. 289, 290, of this passage are read:

ἢ Νότου ἢ Ζεφύροιο δυσαέος, οἵτε μάλιστα
νῆα διαῤῥαίουσι, θεῶν ἀέκητι ἀνάκτων.

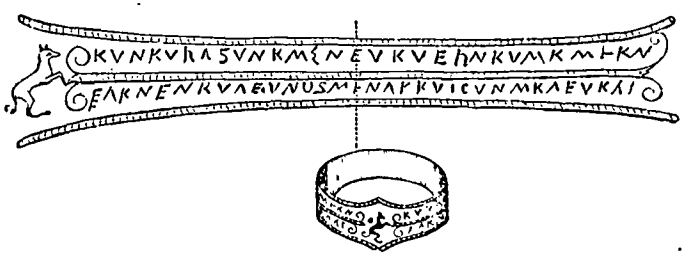
In v. 290, θεῶν ought evidently to be corrected, in conformity with familiar Homeric phraseology, into θοήν:

νῆα διαῤῥαίουσι θοήν, ἀέκητι ἀνάκτων.

The notion of the winds destroying ships "against the will of the Gods" is repugnant to the whole mythology, both physical and moral, of the Greeks, and of Homer in parti-

cular, where they are invariably described as completely subject to the control of the divine power, (conf. *Odyss.* v. 131, 221, *sq.* vii. 249, *sq.* Hesiod *Opp.* 665, *sq.*) The ἄναχτες are here, as elsewhere, the pilots or navigators; whether as masters or lords of the vessel, or simply as heroes or warriors, by the common epic courtesy. Euripides (Cycl. 86,) calls seamen κώπης ἄναχτες, and elsewhere (*Frag. Telephi*) has the expression κώπης ἀνάσσειν.

Note to Chap. XXXIII. p. 141.



This ring is about two-thirds of an inch in diameter, of the form exhibited in the annexed drawing. On its outer surface is an inscription divided into two parallel lines. These lines are separated by a species of band or fillet, each end of which terminates at a common point in the centre of the ring, in a curl or crotchet, held together by the fore paw of a small animal of grotesque form and doubtful species, and which may represent either a hare, rabbit, rat, squirrel, or other similar quadruped. The letters are for the most part Greek, of the most ancient character, with the exception of one or two, which are not easily referable to any variety of the Cadmean alphabet. Both letters and ornaments are executed with sharpness and spirit, and the figure, though grotesque, has a considerable liveliness of character and expression. The language is not Greek, nor any other intelligible to me, or to other more competent judges by whom the inscription has been seen.

This relic is in a perfect state of preservation, with the exception of a break, or rather cut, extending completely through the narrowest part of its circumference, but so straight and clean as not even to render the letters through which it passes less distinct than their neighbours.

Note to Chap. XXXVI. p. 169.

This block is of the same *palombino*, or dove-coloured limestone, of which the native rock in this as in most other parts of Greece mainly consists. Yet it is described, strangely enough, by several of our most accurate travellers, including Leake himself, as of *green marble*. This erroneous impression has been derived from the colour of the polished surface, which has received from time and the weather a bluish green hue. But whoever is at pains to climb up behind, and examine the unwrought portion of the stone, will be convinced of the accuracy of the description here given.

The heads of the animals are gone, together with the apex of the cone that surmounted the column. The broken summit of the stone offers some peculiarities, which have escaped the notice of previous observers, leading to the belief that these deficient parts were of different pieces from the rest of the block. The evidences of this are, in regard to the heads, two sharp rectangular cavities in the upper part of the neck of each figure, apparently intended for fitting in another piece of material; also, contiguous to these incisions in each case, two round holes, evidently artificial, and destined, no doubt, for the reception of some species of nail or bolt, either to aid in fixing the head on the shoulders, or for appending some species of ornament. The other holes in the stone, as indicated in the sketch, are but the natural cavities frequently observable in this species of rock, and which there is no danger of confounding with those artificially bored.

The same conclusion results in regard to the apex of the cone, now wanting, above the four balls, from the circumstance that the stump, unless where injured by violence, which

is only the case at the corners, has a smooth polished surface, no way reconcilable with the fracture of a solid block by the falling of the wall from above, to which cause apparently the existing damage is to be ascribed, but which must have been produced by art, to favour the adaptation of another piece. It is not improbable that these upper and nobler portions of the group may have been of more excellent material—possibly metal, or some precious kind of marble. An excavation would probably throw light upon this point; as it is probable that the heads have lain embedded in the rubbish of the court since the destruction of the city.

It is not very easy to understand how there ever could have been room for the heads of the animals at all, at least for that of the one on the left side of the spectator. The upper stones of the side masonry of the triangular opening are evidently in their original position; and, between them and the abacus of the central column, it were difficult for the liveliest imagination to find a place for a head at all in proportion to such a body.

Down the centre of the three lower divisions of the pedestal of the column runs a small clean incision of several inches in depth, and having so much the appearance of a junction of two stones, that superficial observers have hence been led to the opinion that the relief was sculptured on more than one piece; but a careful inspection shows it to be merely a groove in the solid block—the object of which is not very apparent.

Note to Chap. XXXVII. p. 175.

There is another smaller gallery, in a ruined state, on the west side of the fortress, which appears to have been little else than an ordinary sally port. (See Plate VII. No. 2. ch. xliii.) This work, of which I do not remember to have seen any special notice either in the plans or descriptions of travellers, offers a peculiarity of some interest, as bearing on a question frequently noticed in this journal—the origin and primitive use of the arch in Greece. It runs at right angles to the wall, instead

of parallel to it, like the other galleries, and has its issue in a semicircular projection, in full view of the traveller as he passes along the Nauplia road. The roof is formed on the same general principle as that of the other galleries, with this difference, that the summit of the cone or arch, instead of being completed by the junction of the two upper side stones into an apex, has a sort of key-stone between them. The principle of a key-stone, which involves in fact that of the arch, is, that it should be essential to the support of the blocks with which it is connected on each side, and which, were it removed, would at once fall in. Here this can hardly indeed be said to be the case, for although the side courses are not quite horizontal, their inclination inwards is so slight, that their own weight would probably maintain them in their present position, even were the central stone to be removed. Judging, however, from the section of the interior masonry, where the roof has fallen in, (in so far as its present dilapidated state would admit,) I was led to doubt whether the side stones in other portions of the work possessed a similar degree of independent equilibrium, either from their weight or position; and where this is not the case, the gallery was constructed on the principle of a gothic arch.

In the north wall of the back part of the citadel of Mycenæ, not far from the point of the angle which the peribolus here forms towards the mountain, there is a gallery of similar character with those of Tiryns, with that just described more especially, issuing at right angles to the wall. This work, which has escaped the notice of previous travellers, is the only other genuine specimen of the kind I have yet met with. The "Tirynthian galleries," mentioned by Gell, Dodwell, and others, as existing in other cities, both of Greece and Italy, have little or no resemblance to the original from whence this name is derived; but are fragments for the most part of aqueducts or sewers, or even of those subterranean magazines common on the sites of ancient Greek cities. I should not probably have noticed the one here alluded to, which is in a little-accessible corner of the fortress, and not likely to meet the eye of the traveller unaware of its site and existence, but for the infor-

mation previously received at Nauplia from M. Gropius, by whom it was first discovered.

Note to Chap. XLVI. p. 282.

Leake (*Morea*, vol. i. p. 40,) observes, with apparent justice, that there is no space elsewhere for so large an area as that of the hippodrome, which he states at *two* stadia in length. In venturing to dispute the accuracy of his opinion relative to the size, I shall add force to that concerning the site of the monument.

A general view of the testimonies on the subject leads to the inference, that the Greek hippodrome was *four* stadia in length. This is in fact the import of the text of Pausanias, quoted by Leake, (*Eliac*, ii. 16:) ὁ δρόμου δέ εἰσι τοῦ ἱππίου μῆκος μὲν δίαυλοι δύο. The length, not the circuit, is here specified as two diauli or four stadia. Hence the Etym. M. makes the whole circumference of the Attic hippodrome eight stadia: Ἐνεχελιδών· τόπος. Ἀθήνησι σταδίων ὀκτώ, ἐν ᾧ ἱπποδρομίαι. conf. *Hesych. vv.* Ἱππειος δρόμος, and Ἐνεχελιδών. This explains an otherwise not very intelligible measure of distance, called the Hippicum, mentioned by Plutarch in *Vit. Solon.* c. 22. τὸ δὲ ἱππικὸν διάστημα τεσσάρων ἦν σταδίων; a breadth, not a circuit, of four stadia.

The measurement of the hippodrome was usually quoted with reference to its length, rather than its circumference, just as the measure stadium implies the length of that locality, unless the diaulus or double length be specified. In the same way there was a distinction in the chariot race between the straight, or single, and the circular, or double course; the εὐθὺς δρόμος and κάμπειος δρόμος; or, as Pollux calls it, in the text quoted by Leake, (iii. c. 30,) the δρόμος ἐν καμπῇ. I find no passage in Pollux implying, as quoted by Leake, that the hippodrome was but two stadia in length.

THE END.

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